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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE

II

THE EMERGENCE OF EXISTING CONDITIONS AND WAYS OF THINKING

BY

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON

COMPLETELY REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

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PREFACE

This volume, which relates mainly to the development and spread of European civilization during the past two centuries, is an attempt to present a rather broader conception of history than that hitherto current in our colleges. It includes some account of the growth of knowledge, as well as the political and economic changes. Man's future seems to depend largely upon his discoveries, their dissemination and application. The unprecedented and incredible increase of scientific knowledge is the chief distinguishing characteristic of the age in which we live, and consequently it should engage the attention of every historical student.

Portions of the volume are borrowed, with the necessary modifications and readjustments, from the *Development of Modern Europe*, which Dr. Charles A. Beard and I prepared some fifteen years ago. It happens that the greater part of the material here taken from that book was essentially my own work, but there are portions of chapters and pages here and there which were written by Dr. Beard or are the result of our ever-friendly coöperation. I have his generous permission to include these where it has seemed unnecessary to attempt any restatement.

J. H. R.

New York City

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THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE

CHAPTER XXI

THE DRAWING TOGETHER OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE

The Cosmopolitanizing of the World

The historian finds such an overwhelming and bewildering mass of recorded facts about the past of mankind, especially since the invention of printing, that his heaviest task is to sort out what it seems best worth while to recall. There are tens of thousands of volumes and articles telling of events that have happened since Louis XIV died in 1715. They are written in a great number of languages, and no one person can possibly read but a minute part of what has been set down. Our information ranges from the most trivial gossip and negligible occurrences to events and discoveries which have modified the whole trend of human development.

Voltaire said that history tended to become just "a tale we agreed upon"—*une fable convenue.* And he was quite right; for each new writer is tempted to follow in his selection of material the practices of his predecessors. Voltaire himself tried to escape from the established routine which gave great prominence to the story of rulers, their dissensions and their wars. He wrote a *History of Manners and Customs*, which he judged to be a far more interesting and important theme than

the annals of princely intrigue. Since his day many have made contributions to the revision of the tale of man's adventures. We are, however, involved in a swifter and more profound revolution in human affairs than any which has occurred previously. Consequently we have to consider more carefully than ever before what events should be recalled in order to afford the fullest explanation and understanding of the unprecedented situation in which this generation finds itself.

Almost all the histories of Europe which we are likely to come across are written from the standpoint of the interests of the western European nations. They describe the break-up of the Occidental portions of the Roman Empire and the gradual emergence of the well-known states which now appear on the map. They speak only incidentally, and often rather contemptuously, of "Byzantine" history, by which they mean the events in the eastern, or Greek, portions of the Roman Empire. There is one notable exception, however: Gibbon's famous *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the successive volumes of which first appeared between the years 1776 and 1788. Gibbon assumes that a portion of the old Roman Empire continued unmistakably to exist as an important and independent European state for over a thousand years after the Goths defeated the emperor Valens in the battle of Adrianople in 378 (see Vol. I, p. 39).

Gibbon acts on this historically correct assumption, and his narrative is particularly useful since he constantly emphasizes the relation of the events and developments in western Europe to those in the East. He centers his story in the fluctuating fate of Constantinople, a city which ranks with Athens and Rome in the incalculable effects which its culture has had upon the peoples who came within the range of its influence. The rulers of Constantinople were forced for centuries to defend their dominions against aggressors from the east, south, north, and west: Huns, Persians, Arabs, Kumans, Kasars, Bulgarians, Slavs, Avars, Magyars, Saracens, Franks, Nor-

mans, Venetians, Mongols and Ottoman Turks, to mention only the more formidable. The Eastern Roman Empire functioned during the Middle Ages as a buffer between the fierce barbarian hordes pressing in from Asia, and the western European countries whose history we have been considering. Had it not been for the protection afforded by the Eastern Roman Empire the whole development of western Europe would have been greatly retarded.[1]

The first volume of this work followed the old tradition and confined its attention almost exclusively to the development of western and southwestern Europe from the break-up of the ancient Roman Empire to the death of Louis XIV. The regions hitherto dealt with, however, comprise less than half of Europe. The story must now perforce broaden out, and will, before it is done, take in pretty much the whole world; for it has been the incredible achievement of the peoples of western Europe to devise means by which all parts of the globe have been put into easy intercommunication. *Western European history tends to merge into world history.*

In following out this momentous process the first step is to see the manner in which eastern and western Europe gradually became more and more seriously implicated in each other's affairs. It is a striking fact that it was an issue in eastern Europe which precipitated the World War in 1914. In this terrific struggle all the eastern European powers took part, together with almost all the western. This fact, and the far-reaching significance of the Russian revolution which opened in 1917, cannot but arouse our curiosity in regard to the historical formation of those states, mainly Slavic in speech, which occupy over half the map of Europe today. In the history of the Slavic portion of Europe Constantinople played somewhat

[1] It should be noted that the medieval state of which Constantinople was the capital is called by historians The Eastern Roman Empire, The Greek Empire, or The Byzantine Empire, according to their taste. All these names refer to the same thing.

the same rôle as did Rome in the development of western Europe.

Constantine founded his new capital on the borders of Europe and Asia. It lay just within Europe and just outside Asia. But the historical student must not allow himself to be misled by the hoary old distinction between these two "continents." Geographers cannot agree where Europe leaves off and Asia begins. They are really one—*Eurasia.* There are no natural barriers to prevent the wanderings of peoples back and forth. There is a wide gateway between the Ural Mountains on the north and the Caspian and the Caucasus on the south. The Dardanelles and the Bosporus are but narrow straits, easy enough to cross when not guarded by man.

In the movements of conquerors, the ventures of merchants, the dissemination of religions, and culture in general, Europe, Asia, and northern Africa have all had their part, especially in the eastern Mediterranean. The Egyptian pharaohs extended their rule into Asia; Assyrians and Persians in their turn conquered Egypt; Alexander the Great built up an empire including European, African, and Asiatic lands, and the Romans followed his example. Our heritage of stately architecture, sculpture, lovely fabrics, and jewels had its beginnings in Africa; the Bible, Homer, and fundamental elements in our whole religious outlook today came from Asia. In short, we must agree with Mr. Wells that civilization is the common adventure of mankind. Only the ignorant can assign to his own particular people any overwhelming contribution in man's advance. Human beings have moved about far more widely, have intermixed far more freely, have shared their discoveries far more generously for tens of thousands of years than the narrow patriot, whatever may be his country, is willing to concede. The present cosmopolitanizing of the world has its origins in the distant past.

The Asiatic Hordes

While there has always been sufficient turmoil in western Europe, accompanying the movements of conquering chieftains and their followers and the bitter rivalry of dynasties, the history of eastern Europe has been still more catastrophic. This has been due to the fact that it was nearer a source of endless restlessness and periodic violence, namely, the wandering peoples of central Asia. From the Ural Mountains to the heights and slopes of the Altai ranges in central Asia—indeed, from the Baltic to the Sea of Japan—there have been from time immemorial nomadic races who accepted the principle of *ubi bene ibi patria*. They did not ordinarily take pledges of fortune by building towns and developing a law of real property. They might keep still for a time and then suddenly, converted into a migratory state, under some imaginative and energetic commander, they fared forth in search of adventure, carrying their simple equipment and often driving their stock as they went. Neither mountains nor broad streams nor deserts deterred them. They had no respect for the property or the lives of those whom they met. Each wandering army had a high-sounding name for itself. Its leaders generally claimed supernatural origin and assumed lordly titles. Massacre and robbery ceased to be sins and became virtues when practiced on the conquered. In short, matters were worse than among the Christian nations of the West.

Philologists who, in modern times, have looked into such grammatical vestiges as we have of these highly illiterate wanderers include them under one comprehensive name. From the standpoint of their grammar, whether Turks, Hungarians, Finns, Mongolians, or Manchus, they are ranged with the *Ural-Altaics*, although they are found far west of the Urals and far east of the Altai ranges. In contrast with the Aryans their language is built up of suffixes rather than by means of prefixes: it emphasizes the objective case rather than the subject.

As modern psychologists might say, they were heavily extroverted. These peoples were all too well known to the Chinese, from whose books important information in regard to them is now to be had. It was to prevent their invasions that the Chinese built the great wall, for the same Ural-Altaic races that pestered Europe repeatedly invaded China, and the Manchus are but the last instance of earlier oppressions.[1] Chinese historians are constantly complaining of the ravages of the Hiung-nu, which many historians infer is the same name that played its part in Europe in the form of Hun and Hungarian.

The name *hordes* is perhaps the least misleading to apply to the various masses of invaders who swept from time to time into eastern Europe. The Huns, the first to appear late in the fourth century, are described by a Roman general, Ammianus Marcellinus, as heavy, short-legged, beardless savages, who would sit on their horses day and night, who avoided roofed houses as civilized peoples abhorred sepulchers, and who lived on half-raw flesh.

> Homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their wagons, which they make their homes, they seem to be a people always in flight. . . . Excited by an unrestrained desire to plunder others, they ravaged and slaughtered all the peoples they encountered.

We find much the same picture over and over again when a new horde emerges. But each invading host picked up slaves, captured women, and was joined by adventurers from the regions through which it passed. Consequently, whatever may have been the race of the original group, it soon became heavily mixed with alien blood. And after some decades, if no new

[1] The Ural-Altaic peoples are sometimes called Turanian, sometimes Tatas (or Tartars). The name *Tatar* is derived from that of the Ta-ta Mongols, living in the fifth century in northeastern Gobi (Manchuria). There were some of these Tatas among the bands who long after reached Russia, and the term "Tartar" is often applied to the Turkish-Mongolian invaders of the thirteenth century. The Tatas of Russia today seem to be much more Turkish than Mongolian in character and habits.

leader appeared to keep the horde together, it would be dissipated and merged into the surrounding population. A long list could be given of hordes, and tribes which, like that of Attila (d. 453), having played their brief and desolating rôle, fade away and appear no more in history. In Europe today there are four states whose inhabitants speak a language belonging to the Ural-Altaic or Turanian group of tongues: Finland, little Esthonia, Hungary, and what is left of European Turkey. Bulgaria, as we shall see, takes its name from an Asiatic Hunlike horde, the Bulgars, who conquered the region and organized it, but quickly merged into the Slavic population and adopted their tongue.

It must not be supposed that the government of the Eastern Roman Empire was in a continual state of war with the Asiatic hordes. It often bought peace with handsome sums of money and agreed to pay a regular tribute; it frequently hired the Huns, Avars, Kasars, Bulgars, and other nomadic peoples to fight its other enemies. Sometimes marriages were concluded between marauding Asiatic chieftains and the reigning family at Constantinople. Every kind of people made every kind of transient alliance, regardless of where they came from or what language they spoke.

How the Slavs Occupied the Balkan Peninsula

On page 45 of the first volume a little map is given showing the distribution of territory in the days of Theodoric the Great (d. 526), the king of the East Goths. It will be noted that the Eastern Roman Empire was then confined mainly to what we now call the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor. It also included the eastern Mediterranean coast around into Africa. Justinian the Great, who died in 565, managed to get possession for the time being of Italy by conquering the East Goths, and even of the Vandal kingdom in North Africa; but in general it may be said that the ambitions of the Eastern Roman Empire

were confined at that period to holding on to its Balkan territory, Asia Minor, and so much of Syria as it could defend against the Persian aggressors from the East.

Let us get a somewhat clear idea of the *Balkan region*, which is a recurrent phrase in the discussion of present international relations. The ragged coast of southern Europe juts out into three main peninsulas: the Spanish (including Portugal), the Italian, and, farthest east, the Balkan. The latter, which is somewhat less in extent than the Spanish, lies to the south of the river Danube and runs down to Cape Matapan, the southernmost point of the mainland of Greece. It is largely mountainous and has its name from the range south of the Danube. One of the peaks, Olympus, the residence of the ancient Greek gods, is nearly ten thousand feet high. Politically, since the World War, it has been divided among the following states: Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, and Jugoslavia (including Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slovenia). Rumania is often classed as a Balkan state, although it lies for the most part outside the limits of the Balkan Peninsula, and its language is not Slavic but belongs to the Romance tongues.

The Slavic peoples had been wandering into the Balkan Peninsula several centuries before Justinian's time, but their movements were somewhat masked by the more spectacular inroads of the Huns and then of the Avars and Bulgars—belonging to the Asiatic nomads. The Slavs were destined not only to prevail in the Balkan Peninsula but to build up the vast Russian Empire, and to press westward and establish themselves in what is Poland and Czechoslovakia today. The nations of our time who use Slavic languages include about a hundred and fifty millions of people.

At the opening of the Christian Era the Slavs, whose languages belong to the same great Indo-European group to which Greek, Latin, Celtic, and German also belong, appear to have been settled northeast of the Carpathian Mountains, in what

is now southwestern Russia. Their physical appearance varies greatly and shows today the signs of much admixture with the peoples with whom they struggled for centuries. They gradually spread in all directions, increasing greatly in numbers. There are three main branches of Slavs: (1) the Russians; (2) the group lying between Russia and Germany—Poles, Bohemians (Czechs), Moravians, and Slovaks; (3) the Balkan Slavs. Of the latter, some wandered down around the eastern end of the Carpathians, others around the western.

We shall now review very briefly the manner in which each of these groups built up states which appear on the map of Europe today. The Slavic countries have differed much from one another in their history, just as have those which were founded by the Romance and Teutonic peoples. Each has had its particular tale of victories and defeats, of expansion and contraction; its own heroes and saints, its prides and humiliations, its long-standing ambitions and claims, and its shifting resentments against its neighbors. Into all this we cannot go, but must satisfy ourselves with getting some general idea of the way in which the peoples of eastern Europe developed those states which they inhabit today.

Origin of Bulgaria

The earliest Slavic state to emerge was Bulgaria, composed of those Slavic tribes who had been wandering into the eastern Balkan region for two or three centuries before Justinian's time. It was not they, however, who substituted a state for their old loose tribal government, but an invading band of Bulgars. These differed from the Slavs they conquered in language, religion, and customs, for they belonged not to the Aryan but to the Ural-Altaic races and seem to have been distantly related to the Huns and Avars. They were wild horsemen, governed by their khans. After seriously threatening Constantinople in 679, something more than a century after

the death of Justinian, the Bulgars forced the Eastern Roman Emperor to cede them a considerable portion of his realms. The invaders were not very numerous, any more than were the Franks, who had conquered Gaul earlier, or the Normans, who won England later.

The Bulgars organized the Slavic tribesmen into a powerful state and speedily adopted the language and customs of the conquered. In spite of the continued attacks of the Emperor's troops the new Bulgarian nation maintained itself under its tsars. Boris (who reigned 852–884) decided after much cogitation to accept that form of Christianity which prevailed in the Eastern Empire. Under its ruler Simeon (893–927), whose reign overlapped that of Alfred the Great, "Bulgaria assumed," as Gibbon puts it, "a rank among the civilized nations of the earth." This was at a time when England, France, Germany, and Italy were in their beginnings, racked with feudal anarchy. The Bulgarian tsar, finding himself at the head of the most powerful state of eastern Europe, took the exalted title of "Emperor and Autocrat of all the Bulgars and Greeks." His capital, Preslav, is reported (doubtless with much exaggeration) to have rivaled Constantinople in grandeur.

Forty years after Simeon's death new invaders, the Russians, appeared on the scene and ravaged the country, but were expelled with the help of the Eastern Roman Emperor. Incidentally the Emperor's troops got the better of the Bulgarian tsar, and Bulgaria lost its independence and became subject to Constantinople for a great part of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Later it enjoyed another revival;[1] and then, after long subjugation to the Turks, it regained in the nineteenth century its place on the map of Europe as a small but vigorous people.

[1] See page 15, below.

The Magyars and Hungary

Meanwhile another state of eastern Europe, Hungary, was making its début. It had quite another origin from that of Bulgaria. The Hungarians, or Magyars, as they call themselves, do not belong to the Indo-European peoples in the matter of language, but to the so-called Finno-Ugrians—a western branch of the vast and varied Ural-Altaic group of tongues with which both Turkish and Manchu are classed. When in the year 568 the German Lombards (Vol. I, pp. 44–46) moved on into Italy, they left the region later to be called Hungary to be occupied by an Asiatic horde, the Avars. These, for two centuries and a half, harassed and despoiled their neighbors. Their depredations extended from the Black Sea to the Alps. The chief of the Avars occupied the old palace of Attila and emulated his ambitions. It was from the West, however, and not from the East that they received their *coup de grâce*. They were so completely defeated by Charlemagne between 791 and 796 that they disappeared from the map. The region that they had held was gradually permeated by Slavic immigrants.

A century after Charlemagne's defeat of the Avars, the Magyars had moved westward from the position they held in Justinian's time, south of the Ural Mountains. In 895 their wild horsemen hurled themselves against the Slavic settlers in what was later to become Hungary. They thrust themselves like a wedge between the Slavs to the north and those to the south, and this situation still perendures. Moreover, the Magyar invaders continued to dislike the Slavic inhabitants under their rule and to oppress them down to the World War. For half a century the Magyars were a terrible menace both to the Eastern Roman Empire and to the newly established Western Roman Empire. They ravaged eastern Germany and even crossed the Rhine in their raids. One of the chief glories of Otto the Great was the final defeat which he inflicted upon the Magyars in 955.

After their repulse the Hungarians gave up their roving ways, settled down, and began to accept civilized manners and customs as they learned them from their somewhat better-educated neighbors to the west. For ignorant and disorderly as western Europe was in the tenth century, the Christian monasteries perpetuated some considerable vestiges of the ancient Roman learning, of which the Hungarian hosts had no least inkling. The first and ever-memorable great ruler of Hungary was Stephen I (997–1038), a saintly warrior, who bears some analogy to St. Louis of France. The crown of St. Stephen was long after to be worn by the German Hapsburgs and finally, as a result of the World War, to lapse in the dust. King Stephen encouraged the establishment of Western Christianity in his realms. Many foreigners flocked to his land of promise. Towns and monasteries sprang up, and the Benedictines brought such culture as they had to contribute. The Latin alphabet, not the Greek, was used when the Hungarians began to write; and so the face of Hungary was turned westward rather than eastward.

In spite of terrible raids by the unregenerate Petschenegs (1067) and by the Kumans a few years later, Hungary survived and revived. In our modern estimate of all these eastern European nations one must always consider all they have had to undergo. The modern problem of the great estates of the Hungarian landholders, to take a single example, is really a very ancient one. The Magyar nobles were from the first an overwhelming element in the Hungarian situation. The people at large were essentially serfs, especially the Slavs, and continued to be serfs down to 1848. They earned and paid most of the taxes; they had no fair influence in public affairs. And so far this injustice is by no means remedied, in spite of the strenuous efforts of the more liberal party in Hungary.

About the time that the Bulgars were conquering the Slavs who had come down round the eastern end of the Carpathians into what was to become Bulgaria, other Slavic

immigrants had come into the northwestern portion of the Balkan Peninsula—the Serbs and Croats. They remained for several centuries, however, practically under the rule of their more powerful neighbors—Hungary, Bulgaria, and even the Eastern Empire. It was this group of Slavs who were in our day to form the nucleus of Jugoslavia.

Beginnings of Russia

The greatest of all Slavic empires, Russia, had its beginnings in the gradual expansion to the north and east of Slavic tribes inhabiting the eastern slopes of the Carpathians. Slowly they penetrated the forests of central Russia, made clearings, and founded homesteads, which grew into villages and later into towns. There was some commercial intercommunication between the Black Sea and the Baltic even before the Christian Era. The enterprising Northmen, Swedes in this case, were wont to form companies, something between bandits and merchants, and make their way southward, especially down the Dnieper River, the great waterway of western Russia. Here they engaged in business and soldiering, hiring themselves at times to the Eastern Roman Emperor as mercenaries. They were called Varangians in this capacity. It is from another of their names, *Rous* or *Rus*, that Russia gets its name.

There is a tradition that one of these Swedish leaders, Rurik, and his brothers were invited in the year 862 to rule over the Slavs, and that in this way the Russian state definitely originated. There is little evidence for this particular story. Russian development began two or three centuries earlier; but there can be no doubt that the Swedish leaders exercised a great influence in the development of towns and local principalities, and the early Russian rulers mentioned in the chronicles of this period have Swedish names rather than Slavic. The trading towns of Novgorod, not far from the modern St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), and Kiev grew in

size and importance and became the centers of principalities. Kiev, lying halfway between Novgorod and Constantinople, had become important in Charlemagne's time. Its ruler was able to collect a fleet of two hundred vessels to attack Constantinople in 860. The Russians made successive attacks on Constantinople and often received tribute from the intimidated Eastern Emperor.

The first Russian ruler whose name need be mentioned here was Vladimir the Great (980–1015). He was still a pagan, although his grandmother, Olga, had accepted Christianity. He agreed to be baptized, and married Anne, the sister of the Eastern Emperor. The Varangians now composed the Emperor's bodyguard. This close connection with Constantinople determined the form of religion which was to prevail in Russia. It was to be the Eastern Orthodox Greek faith, accepting the Patriarch of Constantinople as the head of the Church, not the Pope at Rome.

Vladimir was also involved in a war with Boleslav the Mighty, the king of Poland, who was in turn engaged in a conflict with Bohemia.[1] A family alliance was concluded between Vladimir and Boleslav, but later the monarchs fell out over an interesting point. A Polish bishop tried to win over

[1] The history of the northwestern groups of Slavic peoples is, down to the eleventh century, very obscure. A powerful Bohemian ruler, Vratislav, was recognized as king of Bohemia by Emperor Henry IV in 1088. Later the king of Bohemia was included among the electors who chose the head of the Holy Roman Empire. The dissensions between the Slavic (Czech) and German inhabitants of Bohemia, so bitter in the time of John Huss, continued down to the World War. The history of Bohemia belongs to western Europe rather than to eastern, and is intimately associated with that of Germany and Austria.

Of the Poles little can be discovered before the reign of Boleslav the Mighty, who accepted the title of "King of Poland" from the German emperor Otto III in the year 1000. Like the Czechs, the Poles were converted to Western Christianity; Latin was the language of the learned, and the Roman alphabet was employed in writing the vernacular tongues. Lying between Germany and Russia, subject to attack from every side, eager to extend its dominion in every direction, and distracted with dynastic rivalries, Poland offers a more confusing spectacle to the historian than perhaps any other European state.

the Russians to the Western, or Latin, Church. This enraged Vladimir; he imprisoned his son, his Polish daughter-in-law, and the bishop who had sought to break the religious tie between the Russians and Constantinople. Boleslav then made an ineffectual attack on Vladimir, having hired German troops and a band of the fierce Asiatic Petschenegs, who had followed into southern Russia the trail of the Avars and Bulgarians. These facts are recalled to illustrate the complicated and highly unstable situation in eastern Europe. They are a distant forecast of the many complications and rivalries that have lasted down to the twentieth century.

On the map of Europe about the year 1000 (see Vol. I, p. 184) there are the clear beginnings of eastern Europe today. Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Russia had staked out claims, over which they have been contending ever since. The Greeks have never forgotten that the Eastern Empire was long called the Greek Empire. The region that was to become Rumania was at that period occupied by the Petschenegs.

Both Serbia and Bulgaria were important kingdoms in the time of the Crusades; for, after a period of subservience to the Greek emperor, Bulgaria had a second period of vitality which reached its height under Ivan Asen (1218–1241). Ivan ruled over much territory to the south and east of Bulgaria, as the term is now used. But meanwhile the Serbian territories had been organized into an extensive kingdom. Under Serbia's most famous ruler, Stephen Dushan (1331–1355), Bulgaria was included in the enlarged Serbian realms. Then came the Turks, overwhelming nearly the whole Balkan Peninsula. When Serbia and Bulgaria emerged in recent times from their centuries of servitude to the Turk, they did not forget how extensive their territories had once been, and accordingly embittered their fate and endangered the peace of Europe in the struggle to reëstablish ancient and transitory boundary lines.

Separation of the Latin and Greek Churches

We now come to another very important distinction between eastern and western Europe, one which is not geographical or racial or political, but religious and cultural. Since the early Middle Ages the various nations which arose in Europe ranged themselves definitely either on the side of the Latin Church, with its center at old Rome on the Tiber, or with the Greek church, with its focus in new Rome on the Bosporus. Multitudinous and far-reaching have been the results, direct and indirect, of these different affiliations. The history of the Christian Church and of the general progress of culture are closely associated with one another. For a long time the clergy were the only teachers in western Europe, and the universities were for centuries essentially ecclesiastical institutions.

Those peoples who looked to Rome as their religious capital were inevitably brought into contact with the Latin language and the Roman literature, with which scholarly priests and monks were familiar and some knowledge of which they imparted to their pupils. Constantinople, lying far to the east, perpetuated the Greek speech, and the ancient Greek authors continued to be read and admired after they had been nearly forgotten in the Latin-speaking West. Moreover, its proximity to Asia set up in Constantinople standards of Oriental luxury unknown in the West. Consequently the peoples, including a great part of the rising Slavic states, which accepted the Patriarch of Constantinople as their head, were deeply influenced by a set of literary and artistic traditions different from those which emanated from Rome.

Just as the idea persisted for centuries, after the practical dissolution of the Roman Empire, that it really remained *one* commonwealth, or *Res Publica*, so the theory prevailed that all Christendom was properly *one*, no matter how the facts ran counter to this supposition. The Church held together far better than the Empire. The great Church congresses which

are reckoned ecumenical, or universal, by the Latin Church were from the time of Constantine until after Charlemagne's day held either in Constantinople or its neighborhood. It was not primarily the differences of religious opinion or of ceremonies that were finally to set off the Greek Orthodox Church from the Roman Catholic, but the rivalry of the Patriarch of Constantinople and his supporters and the Roman bishop.[1] We have seen how the theory of the papal supremacy had developed, based upon the assumption that the bishop of Rome was the successor to Peter, "the prince of the apostles" (Vol. I, pp. 61 ff.). The Patriarch of Constantinople made no such sweeping claims, but he refused to acknowledge the universal headship of the Pope.

After centuries of discussion, vain negotiations, and compromises the final break came in 1054, when the Patriarch, Michael Cerularius, a hot-headed prelate, infuriated by the rebukes which the Pope ventured to heap upon him, publicly burned a papal bull in order to make clear his repudiation of the papal headship. It will be remembered that at this date Hildebrand was beginning to influence the policy of the papacy and was putting into practice those unlimited claims of the papal autocracy which he later set forth in his famous *Dictatus* (Vol. I, pp. 192 ff.). So it finally came about that Christen-

[1] There was in the matter of dogma a disputed question as to whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father alone or, as the credos in the West added, "and from the Son"—*Filioque*. During the eighth century there had been a bitter controversy over sacred images and the degree of reverence to be paid them. (See Vol. I, pp. 100 f.) An Eastern Emperor ordered the destruction of all religious representations (726), but many of his subjects were quite as horrified by his command as was the Latin Church. Before many decades the Greek Christians were permitted once more to resume a form of religious adoration particularly congenial to them, with their ancient habits of depicting the gods in human form. The icons are deemed magical in their workings by great masses of Russian peasants today. There were a few other issues, such as the use in the West of unleavened bread in celebrating the Mass and the seemingly more important matter of the marriage of the clergy, prohibited in the West but permitted in the East.

dom was divided into the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Orthodox Church, and never were they reunited.

Although the Latin Church did not brand the Greek Church as heretical (for the doctrinal differences did not seem to justify so terrible a term), the milder name *schismatic*, together with the rejection of the Pope's supremacy (acknowledged by all Western princes down to the Protestant revolt), stirred a hatred and suspicion between the West and the East which can be traced not only during the Crusades but in many failures to combine against common enemies, especially the Turks.

Cyril's Alphabet

In the first volume we traced the conversion of the Germanic peoples to Christianity. In the Eastern Empire not only the various Asiatic invaders but the Slavs were originally heathen, with quite primitive religious ideas which had nothing to do with the gospel. The Slavic nations, with few exceptions, look back to two missionaries, the brothers Cyril and Methodius of Salonika, as their special apostles, who brought to them the Christian religion and laid the foundations of a higher Slavic civilization than that which had previously existed. As a matter of fact these apostles appear to have accomplished little as missionaries but much as linguists. Cyril, the younger brother, born about 827, first dreamed of inducing the Mohammedans to agree with the Christians in regard to the Trinity and then attempted to convert the Kasars, an Asiatic people who had built up a fairly substantial state to the north of the Black Sea. Then came a call to the Eastern Emperor from the ruler of Great Moravia,[1] Ratislav, to send him a missionary to convert his people to Christianity. Ratislav seems to have dreaded the German missionaries, who were active in his short-lived state, and to have preferred a Slavic apostle. Therefore in 862 Cyril, accompanied by Methodius, betook

[1] A temporary Slavic dominion of the period.

himself to Moravia; but, to make a long and obscure story short, the brothers failed to win Moravia or the neighboring Bohemia permanently away from the Roman Catholic Church and German influence.[1]

Their great work consisted in devising a new alphabet suitable for writing the various Slavic tongues. This so-called Cyrillic alphabet is used by Russians, Serbians, and Bulgarians down to our own day and thus serves, with some variations, the purpose of well over a hundred millions of Europeans. The new letters were based in the main on the Greek, but differ so much from both the ancient Greek and the Latin alphabet that they offer a serious initial obstacle in the way of a Westerner used to the Roman letters when he tries to learn Russian. The Cyrillic letters were first used in translating the Bible and the ritual into the particular Slavic tongue with which the brothers were familiar (that used in Bulgaria and Macedonia), but later the alphabet was adopted by the Russians for all writing, both religious and secular. Europe had previously relied on the Roman and Greek alphabets (with some use of the Arabic in Spain), but now it had still another, which served to give the Slavs a certain sense of unity. But western Slavdom—Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Croatia—adopted the *Roman* letters, with certain diacritical signs to represent their peculiar vocal sounds.

Constantinople attacked by Western Christians and Eastern Mongols

To the momentous process of bringing eastern and western Europe together, strange and unexpected contributions were made in the thirteenth century. In the first place the Crusaders from western Europe were not content in the pursuit of their holy designs to confine themselves to carving out kingdoms and principalities in the Holy Land (see Vol. I,

[1] See note, p. 14, above.

pp. 218 ff.). In the so-called Fourth Crusade an ill-assorted alliance of French nobles, Norman adventurers (who had conquered southern Italy), Genoese merchants, and, above all, wily Venetians, always with an eye to the main chance, actually captured Constantinople in 1204. They divided up the eastern Balkan region into duchies and principalities and made Count Baldwin of Flanders "Latin Emperor" over such slight vestiges as remained of the Eastern Greek Empire. This situation did not last long, but it served inevitably to vivify the relations between the West and the East. It was about this time also that the study of ancient Greek learning, as codified by Aristotle and preserved in Constantinople, began to get a long and strong hold on Western universities (see Vol. I, pp. 304 ff.).

While the Western Crusaders were parceling out the Eastern Empire, quite another set of forces were beginning to operate from Asia. The most extensive conqueror of all time, Jenghiz Khan, had brought together an empire stretching at the time of his death, in 1227, from the Black Sea to the Pacific. Starting with a most unpromising nucleus of Mongolian nomads from the south of Lake Baikal, he and his generals had in two or three decades established intercommunication between eastern Russia and northern China. Terrible was the slaughter, the burnings of great cities, and the playful torturing of their victims: men, women, and children. It seemed for a time that the Mongols were mainly intent on clearing away towns and villages so as to extend the pasturage for their horses, quite as simply and unquestioningly as our Western settlers destroyed the prairie flowers in order to have their way with corn and hogs. But it would be a mistake to look only at the horrors of the raids. One has to reconcile himself to the historical fact that, given the proper situation, man has been wont to kill and burn, whether he was a heathen Mongol, or a Christian warrior fighting for the Holy Sepulcher.

Under the successor of Jenghiz a great army swept into eastern Europe. As Professor Bury emphasizes, it was not a

willful horde, but was fully cognizant of where it was going and what it proposed to do, far excelling in strategy any of the European armies. It destroyed Kiev, the old center of Russian influence, in 1240. The following year the Mongols defeated an army of Germans and Poles in Silesia, devastated Hungary, and made raids to the Adriatic. Then their commander was recalled on account of the death of the Great Khan, and the Mongols receded, still unconquered, and, under the name of the Golden Horde, continued to occupy a great part of Russia.

Next to Jenghiz himself, Kublai Khan is far the best known of the Mongol dynasty. He lived in the days of St. Louis, Thomas Aquinas, and Roger Bacon, and died in 1294. Much influenced by Chinese civilization, he moved his capital from the old Mongol center, Karakorum, in Mongolia, to Peking. He no longer held to the ideas of indiscriminate slaughter which had prevailed in the beginning. He was friendly to scholars and scientific men and entirely tolerant in religious matters.

Sometime about 1265 two Venetians—the brothers Polo—arrived at Kublai's court. He was so delighted with all the new knowledge they had to impart that he sent them back with letters to the Pope requesting that a body of learned men be dispatched to instruct his people in Christianity and Western ideas. The Polo brothers failed to get the learned men together, but returned to the Khan in 1275, accompanied by the nephew of one of them, Marco Polo, a young man of about twenty-one, who greatly charmed the Khan by his gracious manners and by his facility in learning languages. He was appointed a government official and traveled much in China and even as far as Burma. The Polos finally found an excuse for leaving the Khan, who was most reluctant to part with them. They all reached Venice in safety in 1295, having seen more of the world than any Europeans who had lived before them. Marco Polo's *Travels* became a very popular and influential book. It is made up of Marco's recollections, taken down in

prison by a fellow Venetian who happened, along with the traveler, to have fallen into the hands of the Genoese during one of their wars with Venice.

Other Europeans visited central and eastern Asia during this favorable period for distant travel, and Europe's knowledge of the Orient was vastly increased; but after the break-up of the Mongol empire, in the fourteenth century, relatively little more was learned of the interior of Asia down to the nineteenth century.

The problem of how far the intercourse with China hastened in Europe the introduction of paper, block printing, the compass, and gunpowder,—with all of which the Chinese appear to have been familiar long before the Europeans,—seems impossible to solve satisfactorily. We can only say that if we were better informed it might become apparent that the great innovations of the thirteenth century upon which our modern civilization is based were derived from China.

The Coming of the Ottoman Turks; End of the Eastern Roman Empire

The next great event in eastern Europe was the development of a new Turkish power, which conquered more deliberately than the Mongols, penetrated farther into Europe, lasted much longer, and is to this day an element in international entanglements. A Turk may be defined as one who—usually mistakenly—regards himself as a Turk, for the Turks are of many varieties and always heavily mixed with the peoples with whom they happen to have sojourned. They have no distinct physical characteristics. But grammarians flatter themselves that they can tell a Turkish language when they see it, and inform us that it has certain definite traits which distinguish it from the other members of the extensive Ural-Altaic group; for example, Finnish and Hungarian on the one hand, and Manchu and Mongol on the other.

The so-called Mongol hosts were largely Turkish; and a Turkish people had opened relations with Constantinople shortly after the death of Justinian, but for several centuries the temporary states they dominated were in central Asia. Before the opening of the Crusades the Seljuk Turks had established themselves in Syria, and it was their unsympathetic attitude toward the Christian pilgrims that suggested the attempts of the Western knights to recover the Holy Sepulcher. One of the important results of the Mongol invasions was to drive into central Asia Minor a hitherto unnoticed Asiatic tribe, the Ottoman Turks, so called, after Othman, one of their early leaders.

The Turks passed through a Mohammedanized region on their way to Europe and so became imbued with the congenial ideas of Islam before they were subject to Christian influences. Consequently, unlike the Hungarians, they were set off from Europe by their alien religion, to which they remain faithful.

By the year 1350, under their early able leaders, the Turks had constructed a small but solid little state just across the Bosporus from Constantinople. And during the following two centuries this little state was to expand westward far into Europe, and eastward and southward so that it finally included not only all Asia Minor but Syria and Egypt as well. In 1356 the Ottoman Turks got their first foothold in Europe by crossing the Dardanelles and capturing Gallipoli. It will be remembered that at this period Serbia had become an enterprising nation under Stephen Dushan, who had just died. So Constantinople and what remained of the shattered Eastern Empire was now between two enemies: one advancing from the west, the other from the east; the one Slavic and Christian, the other Turkish and Mohammedan. Slowly but surely the Turks prevailed.

Their conquest of the Balkan Peninsula proceeded steadily under a succession of remarkable rulers, each of whom proved able to cope with the intricate problems of extending the

Turkish power both east and west at the same time and with no considerable setbacks. There is hardly another example of such prolonged and consistent conquest, with the exception of the ancient Roman Republic. Only a few of the episodes in the victorious progress of the Turkish armies need be recalled here. Under Murad I (1359–1389) the Turkish dominions were more than doubled by additions both to the east and west. Adrianople became for a time the European capital of the Turks, and they still continued to hold it after the World War. Serbians and Hungarians, joined by the two peoples who were later to be fused into modern Rumania,—the Wallachians and Moldavians,—vainly combined to drive back the Turk. In 1389 the allies were decisively defeated in the famous battle of Kossovo, and Serbia was forced to pay the regular tribute to the Sultan as a sign of subjection.

The Turkish rulers had their eye ever on Constantinople; but it was not until they had control of practically the whole Balkan Peninsula that they finally succeeded in 1453 in taking the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire. In this enterprise they were greatly aided by artillery, which was as yet little used in the West. A sort of "Big Bertha," which shot forth stone projectiles weighing twelve hundred pounds, enabled the Turkish besiegers to batter down the ancient walls. The reigning sultan, Mohammed II (1451–1481), after permitting his troops to sack the city (as was the custom of the time), showed himself very tolerant toward the inhabitants. He granted them a fair degree of freedom and permitted the Patriarch of Constantinople to continue his functions as head of the Eastern Church.

Mohammed successfully prosecuted his conquests to the west and made Serbia, Bosnia, and Albania integral parts of his domains. His successor extended his incursions into Poland and as far west as the Austrian republic of our time. Then came Selim I (1512–1520), who, in the youthful days of Emperor Charles V., effected a wide extension of the Turkish

dominions to the east. He won Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Having thus conquered the chief Mohammedan countries, he assumed the title of "Caliph" and became the religious head of Islam. The title of "Caliph" was retained by the Turkish sultans until after the World War, when the ancient caliphate was abolished by the newly established Turkish republic.

Suleiman the Magnificent

While the Christian monarchs, Francis I and Charles V, were fighting one another and, later, the Council of Trent was endeavoring to adjust the dissensions aroused by the Protestants, the Turks were ruled by Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–1566). King Solomon, after whom Suleiman was named, was a hero whom Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians had in common. Under the wise guidance of this Turkish Solomon the Ottoman empire reached the zenith of its power.

Suleiman startled the more thoughtful statesmen of western Europe by capturing an old stronghold of the Christians in the eastern Mediterranean—the island of Rhodes. He drove out the order of crusading knights which had long defended their post against the Mohammedans, and he thereby strengthened the Turkish sea power. Belgrade and other important fortresses which impeded the advance of the Turks into Hungary were also taken. Suleiman was not only the secular head of the chief Mohammedan power but also the religious head. He proposed to carry out his religious obligation to conquer unbelievers, and then either convert them or subject them to a regular tribute to be paid into the Ottoman treasury. The next item on his program was the conquest of Hungary.

The Western monarchs were very slow to realize the impending danger. Feeble efforts had long been made to combine against the common enemy. When the emperor Sigismund (who was also king of Hungary) encouraged the assembling

of the Council of Constance in 1414, he had in mind not only the healing of the papal schism but also the organizing of a great alliance of the western European monarchs to beat back the Mohammedans. This part of the program came to naught. A hundred years after, in the year Luther posted his theses, Pope Leo X proclaimed a suspension of the chronic Christian warfare for five years in order that a general attack might be made on the "infidel." Francis I offered the bright suggestion that France, Spain, and Germany combine to drive out the Mohammedans, and then that the Turkish realms be divided among the Western powers. But Francis speedily fell into the hands of Charles V and was imprisoned. This suggested a new idea to him; namely, that the Sultan should come to his aid, and that they should combine to make head against the inordinate growth of the Hapsburg power. These are examples of the futile talk in western Europe about the urgent duty of expelling the Turks. The two commercial republics of Italy, Venice and Genoa, were well versed in the practical politics of the East. They found it to their business interest to make various amiable and practical compromises with the Sultan. Hence it looked as if the responsibility for defending Hungary would fall on herself.

In the year 1526 Suleiman's forces advanced across the Danube and defeated the Hungarians in the memorable battle of Mohacs, where their king, Louis II, was killed. This put Ferdinand of Hapsburg, brother of Charles V, in a position to lay claim to Hungary. He had married the sister of Louis and declared himself heir and successor (see genealogical table, Vol. I, p. 467). This claim was later maintained by the Hapsburgs, and Hungary eventually became associated with Austria down to the World War. Meanwhile Hungary fell largely under Turkish control.

Three years after Mohacs, Suleiman took Buda and besieged Vienna itself, but decided to retire before the city could be taken. In 1541 the Sultan again invaded Hungary with a vast

army, and the outcome of the Turkish occupation was the partition of Hungary into three parts. A strip to the west was ceded to Ferdinand of Hapsburg on condition that he should pay a heavy annual tribute to the Turkish government. Central Hungary was directly under Turkish rule, and Transylvania was turned over to a prince who owed fealty to the Sultan. This situation persisted, with various modifications, for a century and a half.

In the early part of Louis XIV's reign a long conflict with the Turks was carried on in Hungary and Austria. Vienna was besieged by the Mohammedans in 1683, but the city was relieved by the Polish king, John Sobieski. After their long, steady expansion and incredible successes the Ottoman rulers seemed to have lost their pristine energy. From this time the Turkish power declined. By the end of the seventeenth century (Peace of Karlowitz, 1699) the Sultan's troops had been forced out of Hungary, and the land had become a recognized portion of the German Hapsburg's dominions.

This brief review of the origin and development of the Ottoman state is designed to explain in a measure the way in which the so-called Eastern Question of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries took form. For four centuries the expansion of the Ottoman power dominated the history of southeastern Europe. When the period of decline came after 1700, the disintegration of Turkey and the inevitable struggle over its former possessions involved the western European powers as well as the eastern in deadly rivalries and wars. The decline of Turkey proved quite as fatal to European peace as was its advance.

Growth of Russia before Peter the Great

We have seen how the Russians, with the aid of the enterprising Scandinavian adventurers, had been organized into a sort of state with its center at Kiev. About the year 1100 the prince of Kiev lost his commanding position. The country

fell apart into warring principalities, and the confusion was increased by various kinds of Asiatic marauders. The focus of Russian development and consolidation was shifted northward. Not far from the site of the future St. Petersburg a great commercial town had grown up, Novgorod. It was not the burghers of Novgorod, however, who were destined to conquer their rivals and build up modern Russia, but the princes of Moscow. The progress of unification was checked by the coming of the Mongols. A Russian chronicle of the period says, "For our sins unknown peoples appeared; no one knew their origin or whence they came, or what religion they practiced."

The princes of Moscow and the citizens of Novgorod gave up their mutual conflicts for a time in the presence of this unexpected danger, but they were completely defeated by the troops of Jenghiz Khan in 1224. Thirteen years later the Mongols made a second incursion under the name of the Golden Horde. This time they settled permanently in southern Russia and established their capital on the lower Volga, not far from the Caspian Sea. They continued their pastoral life and, except for occasional cruel and devastating incursions, satisfied themselves with exacting tribute from the Russian princes.

The princes of Moscow showed themselves particularly skillful in dealing with the Mongols. As time went on, the strength of the Golden Horde declined; it fell apart into conflicting "khanates" and left the way open for an extension of the power of the enterprising princes of Moscow. It is curious to note that the Russian state began to take form at just the period when England and France were being consolidated by Henry VII and Louis XI after the Hundred Years' War. But Russia was fated to remain a thoroughgoing autocracy long after both England and France had established constitutional government. This is an important contrast which is to be explained by several considerations. In the first place, the principality of Moscow had no natural or traditional boundaries. It could be extended indefinitely. It did extend until

it not only became by far the largest state in Europe but reached across Asia to the Pacific and, finally, in the nineteenth century, down to the confines of India. Therefore a military despotism seemed the only appropriate government for so aggressive a state.

Then those powerful class interests which tempered the despotism of the Tudors and of the French monarchs were feeble in Russia. The princes of Moscow crushed the republican tendencies in the commercial towns like Novgorod and Pskov, so that the burghers played no such part as did the commons in England. The former independent princes and the nobles in general were too completely subjugated to make much trouble, and their *duma*, or assembly, had no important part in the government. Lastly, the Church was completely subordinated to the State.

It was claimed that the Patriarch of Constantinople had forfeited all respect by his wicked concessions to the Latin Church at the Council of Ferrara in 1438 (Vol. I, p. 382). Moscow therefore succeeded to Constantinople, the *second* Rome, and became the *third* and last Rome, and consequently its archbishop was the head of the Orthodox Greek Christians. This theory was emphasized by creating a Russian patriarchate, which was, however, kept under careful government control. So the program of the Russian rulers included indefinite territorial expansion; the suppression of all democratic tendencies but, on the other hand, all efforts of the nobles to gain control; lastly, the complete subordination of the Church and clergy to the autocracy.

It took some time to carry out the program, but Ivan the Great (1462–1505) made much more than a beginning. He was astute and unscrupulous. While he left it to his successors to annex the khanates into which the Golden Horde had fallen, he managed to bring the Tatar chieftains under his influence and a number of important towns, including Novgorod, under his sway. He managed to encroach on Lithuania, a large state

to the west which was for centuries more or less closely associated with Poland. Ivan married the niece of the last Roman emperor who had ruled at Constantinople. This may help to explain why in the Church service he is referred to as "Autocrat of all Russia, the new Tsar Constantine, in the new city of Constantine, Moscow." We have in this a striking instance of the perpetuation of historical sentiment and veneration. The first Christian emperor is summoned to stand sponsor for the Russian autocracy!

The successors of Ivan the Great carried on his work. Of these the most famous was Ivan the Terrible (1533–1584), who began to rule when Henry VIII was casting off his allegiance to the Pope, and who died in the midst of Elizabeth's reign.[1] Ivan was but three years old when his father died. He had a sensitive disposition, and his childhood was embittered by the horrors accompanying an attempt of the former princes to reëstablish their power. When he was only thirteen years old, he met atrocity with atrocity by ordering his huntsmen to set his dogs on one of the leading nobles, who was torn to pieces. At seventeen, when he came to be crowned, he insisted that the title "Tsar of all the Russias" should be conferred upon him. He had, for a monarch in those days, read a good deal and had reached the conclusion that this term, derived from "Cæsar" and meaning "king" or "emperor," was appropriate for the ruler of all the Russias and the successor of the Roman Emperor of the East. In order to affirm the autocracy of the Tsar, Ivan did what he could to replace the older aristocracy by a new nobility of office dependent on the head of the State.

[1] Ivan owes his surname "the Terrible" to the massacres he set on foot in his later years. It is reported that in order to discourage any republican sentiments he had sixty thousand men, women, and children slaughtered in Novgorod. The numbers may be much exaggerated; but it is certain that not only Ivan but his predecessors and successors, including the Bolshevik government after the World War, resorted to far more generous killings than would have been deemed expedient by Western statesmen.

About 1555 Ivan ventured to annex outright two of the chief Mongol khanates, Kazan and Astrakhan, and in this way greatly extended the Russian boundaries to the east. Crimea, the remaining khanate, had come under Turkish protection and was not acquired by Russia for a couple of centuries.

Shortly after the death of Ivan the Terrible a decree was issued which reduced the Russian peasants to a condition of serfdom. This was to insure the Russian landlords a permanent body of agricultural laborers. Previously the peasants had been allowed to wander from one great estate to another as might please their fancies and correspond to their interests. But about the year 1600 this right was abolished, and the serfdom which western Europe had inherited and developed from the institutions of the later Roman Empire was introduced into Russia when it was disappearing from the more progressive states in the West. This system of servitude was to prevail for over two centuries and a half. Only after the great Russian revolution of 1917 did the peasants get their revenge. We often forget how long-standing were their woes and the terrible injustice under which they suffered.

In the early seventeenth century there was a period of disorder and civil war in Russia. In 1613 the so-called Romanov dynasty was acclaimed, which lasted down to the end of the World War.[1] Under the tsars Michael and Alexius, whose combined reigns extended from 1613 to 1676, the autocracy held its own and frustrated an attempt of the patriarchs of Moscow to exalt themselves to the position of popes. Up to this period Muscovy, as the Western peoples called Russia, was little known abroad and was usually regarded as a grotesquely

[1] Ivan the Terrible married a member of the Romanov family, which had been very prominent in the affairs of Muscovy long before one of its scions, Michael, was elected tsar in 1613. By the middle of the eighteenth century the dynasty had received a strong infusion of German blood, because Peter the Great's daughter had married Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, and their son, Peter III, had married Catherine (later to be called "the Great") of Anhalt-Zerbst.

barbarous nation. With the accession of Peter the Great, who ruled from 1689 to 1725, the relations of Russia with the Western powers became more intimate, and the princes of Moscow were at last received into the quarrelsome family of nations.

Peter the Great and his Efforts to Europeanize Russia

Now and then a chieftain appears who quite transcends the standards set by the ordinary run of able rulers. Peter the Great seems to have stepped out of the *Niebelungenlied* or some Icelandic saga. He was a sort of mythical demigod. He had no time to waste on respectability or propriety. All his virtues and vices were on a colossal scale.

> His rage was cyclonic; his hatred rarely stopped short of extermination. His banquets were orgies, his pastimes convulsions. He lived and loved like one of the giants of old. There are deeds of his which make humanity shudder, and no man equally great has ever descended to such depths of cruelty and treachery. Yet it may generally be allowed that a strain of nobility, of which we catch illuminating glimpses, extorts from time to time an all-forgiving admiration. Strange, too, as it may sound, Peter the Great was at heart profoundly religious. Few men have ever had a more intimate persuasion that they were but instruments for good in the hands of God.—R. Nisbet Bain

Peter was excessively human. As a boy he was a sort of gangster who collected a group of companions of very low degree, whom his aunt Sophia called "blackguards." Later he loved to spend his nights in the German or foreign quarter of Moscow and associate with miscellaneous adventurers. A Scotchman, Alexander Gordon, who was appointed major general by Peter, says of the Tsar that it was "uneasy for him to appear in Majesty." "He was a lover of company and a man of much humor and pleasantry, exceedingly facetious and of vast natural parts. He had no letters [that is, was poorly

"educated"]; he could only read and write, but had a great regard for learning." He rose early and worked hard on government business until ten or eleven; the rest of the day and a great part of the night he devoted to pleasure, taking his bottle "heartily" and forcing the rest of the company to do the same. He seems always to have had underneath his gayety a steady purpose of promoting his great enterprises. He made a wise selection of aids and helpers from his nondescript companions. Indeed, his second wife, who became his successor, was a girl he picked up in the German quarter during his orgies.

Peter had three main objects in view his whole life long. He was bent on Westernizing Russia; he strove greatly to improve its government; and, lastly, he was steadfastly intent on securing an outlet to the sea and establishing his country as a maritime power. In all these great projects he was unexpectedly successful. Each of these we shall take up in turn.

In manners and customs Muscovy was, from a Western standpoint, notoriously crude and barbarous. And it seemed so to a few of the Russians themselves. Some of the enlightened boyars (nobles) were humiliated by the situation, and Peter's father, Alexius, was eager for new knowledge. The way had been prepared for Peter's innovations.

In 1697–1698 Peter himself visited Germany, Holland, and England with a view to investigating every art and science of the West, as well as the most approved methods of manufacture, from the making of a man-of-war to the etching of an engraving. Nothing escaped the keen eyes of this rude, half-savage Northern giant. For a week he put on the wide breeches of a Dutch laborer and worked in the shipyard at Saardam near Amsterdam. In England, Holland, and Germany he engaged artisans, scientific men, architects, ship captains, and those versed in artillery and the training of troops, all of whom he took back with him to aid in the reform and development of Russia.

He was called home by the revolt of the royal guard, which

had allied itself with the very large party of nobles and churchmen, who were horrified at Peter's desertion of the habits and customs of his forefathers. They hated what they called "German ideas," such as short coats, tobacco-smoking, and beardless faces. Peter took a fearful revenge upon the rebels and is said to have himself cut off the heads of many of them. Like the barbarian that he was at heart, he left their heads and bodies lying about all winter, unburied, in order to make quite plain to all the terrible results of revolt against his power.

Peter's innovations extended throughout his whole reign. He made his people give up their cherished Oriental beards and long, flowing garments. He forced the women of the better class, who had been kept in a sort of Oriental harem, to come out and meet the men in social assemblies such as were common in the West. He invited foreigners to settle in Russia and insured them protection, privileges, and the free exercise of their religion. He sent young Russians abroad to study conditions in the western European countries, for he did not wish to be permanently dependent on foreigners and hoped to create a type of well-informed Russian who would help him and carry on his policy when he was dead.

Books, which played such an important part in Western life, were practically unknown in Russia. If one learned to read, as he rarely did, he was set deciphering some ancient religious ritual. Peter took a personal interest in revising the old, clumsy Cyrillic alphabet and simplifying it into a form that with few modifications is used in Russia today. He gave a Dutch printer the privilege of printing Russian books. Translations of old and new works were made, and Russian writers and scientists were destined one day to pay back their debt to the West by the deep insight of their fiction and the originality of their discoveries.

Innumerable other changes were introduced by the tireless Tsar. He forbade his subjects to fall upon their knees be-

NOTE : The boundaries of the various powers are of the year of accession of Peter the Great
NORTHEASTERN EUROPE
In the time of
PETER THE GREAT
0 50 100 200 300 400
SCALE OF MILES
Territory added to Russia by Peter the Great
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
FINLAND
LIVONIA
ESTHONIA
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Lithuania
HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Brandenburg
Prussia
Pomerania
Saxony
Bohemia
Austria
Hungary
Transylvania
Moldavia
Wallachia
Bessarabia
Podolia
Crimea
Ingria
Courland
Livonia
Ottoman Dominions
Russia
Moscow
Gulf of Bothnia
Gulf of Finland
White Sea
Baltic Sea
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Christiania
Stockholm
St. Petersburg
Copenhagen
Berlin
Warsaw
Vienna
Budapest
Paris
Archangel
Moscow
Smolensk
Kiev
Chernigov
Poltava
Kazan
Astrakhan
Azov
Novo Cherkask
Staropol
Perm
Vyatka
Nizhni Novgorod
Tver
Novgorod
Pskov
Riga
Dorpat
Narva
Reval
Viborg
Lake Ladoga
Lake Onega
Dvina
Volga
Don
Dniester
Dnieper
Danube
Vistula
Oder
Elbe
Rhine
Seine
Loire
Rhone
Po
Tiber
Ural
Sarepta
Uralsk (Ural)
Orenburg
Konigsberg
Vilna
Grodno
Mogilev
Brest-Litovsk
Lublin
Cracow
Lemberg
Prague
Frankfort
Munich
Milan
Venice
Marseilles
Lyons
Strasbourg
Belgrade
Bucharest
Danube
Longitude 10° East from 15° Greenwich 20°
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS.

fore him, for this was an honor for the Deity only. He ordered that the year should begin on January 1 instead of on September 1, and dates should be reckoned anno Domini instead of from the supposed year of the creation of the world. The use of "old style" was continued, however, until the revolution of 1917 and served to throw out the Russian calendar somewhat from that of the West. Peter built a hospital, encouraged medical training, and frowned on religious magic. He was denounced as Antichrist. The new garments he commanded his people to wear were deemed indecent and heretical. Some prudent reactionaries saved their beards when they were forced to cut them off, and had them buried with them lest they might otherwise be excluded from the kingdom of heaven. But Peter seems not to have been in the least deterred by opposition; it gave zest to life.

As for the government, Peter had no quarrel with the long-established despotism of the tsars. He aimed to strengthen his own power and to suppress all interference on the part of the nobles, the guards, and the Church. He wanted a well-ordered system of state departments; he divided the country into eight "governments" for the more ready collection of taxes. It gives one a notion of the extent of the Russian realms to review these new divisions. They were Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kiev, Smolensk, Archangel, Kazan, Azov, and Siberia.

Coins in Russia were few and much mutilated. Peter began minting money on a large scale and ordered a careful survey to be made of the mineral resources of his realms. He encouraged commerce and sought to defend the serfs against the atrocious ill treatment under which they suffered. He made war on the deep-seated and perennial corruption and stealing on the part of government officials and offered to reward those who should report cases of dishonesty. He was suspicious of the patriarchate lest it might encourage the Church to set itself against the government. So the office of Patriarch lapsed and

the Holy Synod, practically a department of state, was substituted. One of Peter's earliest measures was to establish permanent embassies at foreign courts. In this way he insured Russia a diplomatic standing and importance in the plans and intrigues of European nations which it had not previously enjoyed.

Russia secures an Outlet to the Sea

In addition to his plans for bringing Russia abreast of Western civilization and reforming its highly defective government, Peter was perhaps even more thoroughly engrossed in opening a way to the sea—making a window, as he expressed it, through which Russia might look abroad upon the great world. To this he devoted much of the best energy of his life, for it involved him in a long series of weary wars with his neighbors. Russia already extended up to the White Sea. But Archangel, which was its chief port, lies not far from the arctic circle; it is icebound during a long winter, and at best its ships have to course clear round the North Cape to reach the Baltic or the North Sea. Peter had been an enthusiastic shipbuilder and sailor in his youth, and he knew all the disadvantages of the White Sea.

There were three possible ways of solving the problem of an outlet by water for land-bound Russia. There was the Caspian, a vast inland sea (over five times the size of Lake Superior) in the midst of ancient trade routes. But the Caspian has no outlet, for its level is eighty-three feet below that of the Black Sea. Then there was the Black Sea itself, connected with the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. But its shores were in the hands of a remnant of the Golden Horde (the khanate of Crimea), and the Bosporus and the Dardanelles were carefully guarded by the Turks. Peter meditated extension round the Caspian and toward the Black Sea. He engaged early in a war with Turkey, with a view of extending his control to the south. And later he tried again, but accom-

plished little. His main hope, which he finally attained, was breaking through to the Baltic.

The region for which Peter longed, at the eastern end of the Baltic, had for some time belonged to Sweden, which had become since the days of Gustavus Adolphus (Vol. I, pp. 492 f.) a large and powerful state. It happened too that never had Sweden had a more warlike king than Charles XII, who was ten years younger than Peter. When Charles came to the throne in 1697, at the age of fifteen, no one could foresee that he was to prove a prodigy of military prowess. It seemed a most auspicious moment for Peter to join in a conspiracy of Sweden's rivals to seize some of her outlying territory. So a union was formed, including Denmark, the elector of Saxony (who had been chosen king of Poland), and Russia, to increase their realms at the expense of the boy ruler. This led to the Great Northern War, which began just before the Western powers started the War of the Spanish Succession and dragged on much longer, lasting in all over twenty years.

Peter began by besieging Narva, not far from the site where he was to establish St. Petersburg in good time. But Charles astonished Europe by his skill and energy. He besieged Copenhagen and forced the king of Denmark to sign a peace with Sweden. He put to flight the incautious Peter, and with eight thousand Swedes wiped out an army of fifty thousand Russians (1700). He then turned on the elector of Saxony and set up a rival king in Poland (Stanislaus Leszczynski, whose name we shall meet later). His attempt to keep his protégé on the Polish throne proved a serious complication, and Peter was able to get Narva after all and to conquer Livonia as well.

Charles decided to advance into central Russia. The march of the Swedes during a terrifically cold winter through a land devastated by the enemy was as horrible and ineffective as that of Napoleon a hundred years later. At Pultava (1709) Charles was totally defeated and fled to Turkey, where he spent several years trying to induce the Sultan to lend aid

against Peter. The Turks did declare war on Russia no less than three times, but Peter's representatives managed to buy off the leading Turkish officials at critical moments. Charles finally gave up all hope of Turkish help and returned to his own long-neglected kingdom. In 1718 he was killed while laying siege to a town on the Norwegian boundary. Shortly after his death a treaty was concluded between Sweden and Russia which ceded to Russia not only the region east of Narva (later called Ivangorod) but Esthonia and Livonia to the west. This gave Peter a long strip of coast on the Baltic and the Gulf of Riga.

The acquisition of an outlet to the sea was celebrated by the foundation of a new capital. Peter was weary of the stolid opposition which he encountered in the ancient seat of government, Moscow. So he planned and built a city to suit himself. He forced his Swedish captives of war to erect long lines of magnificent stone structures. In this way St. Petersburg arose in the forests and marshes which had previously covered its site. Peter called it his "paradise." It was symbolic of the change from an old to a new Russia. The principality of Moscow had given place to the Russian Empire of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In our own day this remarkable country was destined to undergo a revolution still more perturbing to western Europe, during which Moscow once more became the capital.

For a generation after the death of Peter the Great, Russia was ruled by rather incompetent monarchs. It appears again as an aggressive European state when Catherine II came to the throne in 1762. From that time on, the Western powers had always to reckon with the vast Slavic empire in all their great struggles. They had also to consider a rapidly developing kingdom in northern Germany, Prussia, which was just growing into a great power as Peter began his work.

The Constructing of the Kingdom of Prussia

That a kingdom should come into existence, extending before the World War all the way from Russia to France, is one of the most astonishing results of a long series of seeming accidents. It is hard to tell where the tale of Prussia's development should begin. In the early Middle Ages a great part of northern Germany was occupied by Slavs. But along the eastern shores of the Baltic were other peoples—Letts, Lithuanians, and Borussians—whose languages were not Slavic but belonged, nevertheless, to the Indo-European, or Aryan, class of speech. Of the origin and arrival of these tribes little or nothing is known.[1] They were doughty pagans and long fought against the efforts of Russians, Poles, and Germans to conquer them and bring them into the fold of Christianity.

The early German kings, after Constantine's time, established a North Mark, or border province, as an advance post from which the Slavs beyond the Oder might be conquered and Christianized. This task proceeded slowly but steadily. The North Mark came to be called Brandenburg, from one of its chief fortresses, and Albert the Bear (d. 1170) was the first Margrave of Brandenburg. Later the title of margrave gave way to that of "elector." Early in the fifteenth century, after many vicissitudes, the electorate came into the hands of Emperor Sigismund, who, being hard up, sold it to the hitherto inconspicuous House of Hohenzollern, which is familiar to us through its representatives, Frederick the Great, William I (the first emperor of united Germany), and William II, his grandson, the "Kaiser" of the World War. While it was always the pride of the Prussians that each of its kings added something to what his ancestors had handed down to him,

[1] What is left of these peoples received national recognition after the World War in the creation of Lithuania, and Latvia, the land of the Letts. Esthonia is inhabited by a people allied to the Finns and Hungarians in language.

nothing need be said of the earlier, unimportant annexations; no extensions of heavy import for future generations took place until 1614, when the elector of Brandenburg inherited Cleves and Mark and so got his foothold on the Rhine.

But nothing so far explains why the inhabitants of Berlin are named Prussians after the old pagan Borussians. This brings us to a long chapter in Prussian history, which must be condensed here into a paragraph or so.

Among the latest of the militant monkish orders to be established during the Crusades was the Teutonic Order, which finally rivaled the Templars and the Hospitalers. As the retention of the Holy Land became hopeless the leader of the order began to look for a more promising enterprise. The king of Poland arranged that the Teutonic knights should undertake the conquest and conversion of the heathen Borussians on his borders. So at the opening of the thirteenth century the work began. The opposition to Christianization was so fierce and prolonged that the best way to convert the region seemed to be to kill the obstinate pagans and replace them by German colonists.

The successive heads of the Teutonic order knew how to secure their rights over their new territory. At first they ruled over East Prussia; later they acquired West Prussia, and their realms extended along the Baltic for over two hundred miles and far inland. In 1466 reverses compelled the order to cede West Prussia to Poland, as well as a triangular section of East Prussia (the bishopric of Ermeland). The results of this deal can be noted on the map of Europe today, as will be seen in due time. So the knights retained a rather ragged realm, which has played a more considerable part in international discords than its dimensions would seem to justify.

In Luther's day (1525) the knights accepted Protestantism and dissolved their order. They then called their lands the duchy of Prussia and made their Grand Master, who was a

relative of the elector of Brandenburg, their first duke, under the suzerainty of the king of Poland. About a hundred years later (1618) this branch of the Hohenzollerns died out, and the duchy then fell to the elector of Brandenburg.

The Great Elector (1640–1688) and his Successors

Notwithstanding this substantial territorial gain, there was little promise that the hitherto obscure electorate would ever become a formidable power when, in 1640, Frederick William,

TERRITORIES OF THE GREAT ELECTOR OF BRANDENBURG

known as the Great Elector, came into his inheritance. His territories were scattered from the Rhine to the Vistula, his army was of small account, and his authority was disputed by powerful nobles and by local assemblies. The center of his domain was Brandenburg. Far to the west was Mark, bordering on the Rhine valley, and Cleves, lying on both banks of that river. Far to the east, beyond the Vistula, was the duchy of Prussia, quite outside the borders of the Holy Roman Empire and subject to the overlordship of the king of Poland.

Frederick William was, however, well fitted for the task of welding these domains into a powerful state. He was coarse by nature, heartless in destroying opponents, treacherous in

diplomatic negotiations, and entirely devoid of the culture which distinguished Louis XIV and his court. He set resolutely to work to build up a great army, to destroy the local assemblies in his provinces, to place all government in the hands of his officials, and to add new territories to his patrimony.

In all these undertakings he was largely successful. By shrewd tactics during the closing days of the Thirty Years' War he managed to secure, by the treaties of Westphalia, the bishoprics of Minden and Halberstadt and the duchy of Farther Pomerania, which gave him a good shore line on the Baltic. He also forced Poland to surrender her overlordship of the duchy of Prussia and thus made himself a duke independent of the Empire.

Knowing that the interests of his House depended on military strength, he organized, in spite of the protests of the taxpayers, an army out of all proportion to the size and wealth of his dominions. He reformed the system of administration and succeeded in creating an absolute monarchy on the model furnished by his contemporary, Louis XIV. He joined England and Holland in their alliances against Louis, and the army of Brandenburg began to be known and feared.

Though a stanch Protestant, the Great Elector permitted religious freedom to a remarkable degree.[1] He made Catholics eligible to office and, on the other hand, gave asylum to the persecuted Huguenots from France.

It was accordingly a promising legacy which the Great Elector left in 1688 to his son, Frederick III, and although the career of the latter was by no means so brilliant as that of his father, he was able to transform his electorate into a *kingdom*. The opportunity for this achievement was offered by the need of the powers for his assistance against the designs of Louis XIV (Vol. I, p. 530). When the Emperor called upon Frederick III in 1700 to assist him in securing a division of

[1] The electors of Brandenburg had introduced the Protestant faith before Luther's death.

the Spanish dominions, the elector exacted as the price of his help the recognition of his right to take the title of "king."

The title "King of Prussia" was thought preferable to the more natural "King of Brandenburg," because Prussia lay wholly without the bounds of the Holy Roman Empire, and consequently its ruler was not in any sense subject to the Emperor but was entirely independent. Since West Prussia still belonged to Poland in 1701, the new king satisfied himself at first with the title "King in Prussia."

The second ruler of the new kingdom, Frederick William I, the father of Frederick the Great, is known to history as the rough and boorish barrack king who devoted himself entirely to governing his realm, collecting tall soldiers, drilling his battalions, hunting wild game, and smoking strong tobacco. He ruled his family and his country with a despotic hand, declaring that "salvation belongs to the Lord; everything else is my business."

Frederick William was passionately addicted to military life from his childhood. He took special pride in tall soldiers and collected them at great expense from all parts of Europe. He raised the army, which numbered twenty-seven thousand in the days of the Great Elector, to eighty-four thousand, making it almost equal to that maintained by France or Austria. He reserved to himself the right to appoint subordinates as well as high officials in the service, and based promotion on excellence in discipline rather than on family connections. He was constantly drilling and reviewing his men, whom he addressed affectionately as "my blue children." Moreover, by miserly frugality and entire indifference to the amenities of life, Frederick William treasured up a large sum of money. Consequently he was able to leave to his son, Frederick II, the Great, not only a good army but an ample supply of gold.

CHAPTER XXII

THE WARRING GOVERNMENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

France and England about 1715

This chapter reviews the wars in which the European powers engaged from the death of Louis XIV to the opening of the French Revolution. The story is a dreary one, since the excuses for fighting usually seem to a distant onlooker to have been trifling, mean, or downright wicked. Accounts of campaigns and battles, when reduced to a few paragraphs, have a wearisome sameness. They lose all vividness, and, differing in little except the names of the states involved, the places, and the dates, they are easily forgotten. Nevertheless it must be remembered that the modern European states have always spent a great part of their energy and resources in fighting one another. Wars have seemed not only inevitable duties but glorious enterprises, if successful.

There are two reasons at least for giving a place to military and diplomatic history, even if they make no great appeal to the reader or, for that matter, to the writer. In the first place, there is today a more widespread and better organized opposition to war in general than ever before in the history of mankind. If we are to understand this movement and the methods suggested for preventing future wars, we have to know something of the military traditions which have to be overcome. Secondly, it has been mainly through force, directly or indirectly, that the boundaries of existing states have been determined. The history of the map of Europe is the history of its wars. Nations, it is true, are not wholly the result of the peren-

EUROPE
after the Treaties of
UTRECHT AND RASTADT
1713-1714
Boundary of the Empire
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles.
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
Scotland
Edinburgh
Belfast
Dublin
Ireland
Wales
England
London
North
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Oudenarde
Fontenoy
R. Seine
Paris
Versailles
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Avignon
Barcelona
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
Madrid
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Lisbon
R. Tagus
Balearic Isles
Majorca
Iviza
Seville
Cadiz
Gibraltar
(To England)
MEDI
AFR
M.-N. ENG., BUFFALO.
15
10
5
0
55
50
45
40
35
10 Longitude West
Longitude East 5

KINGDOM OF
SWEDEN
Copenhagen
Baltic Sea
Königsberg
Prussia
Stralsund
Swedish Pomerania
Bremen
Verden
Hanover
Prussia
Berlin
R. Vistula
POLAND
Saxony
Silesia
Bohemia
Prague
EMPIRE
Moravia
Electorate of Bavaria
Munich
Arch. Duchy of Austria
Vienna
Buda
Pest
Kingdom of Hungary
Transylvania
Tyrol
Temesvar
Republic of Venice
Venice
R. Danube
Dy. of Parma
States of the Church
Lucca
Florence
Gr. Dy. of Tuscany
Ragusa
Cattaro
OTTOMAN DOMINIONS
Rome
Naples
(To Austria)
Savoy
Palermo
Messina
Sicily
(To Savoy)
(later, 1720, to Austria)
Morea
Candia
SEA
55
50
45
40
35
10
15
20
25
30

nial war game; but the stakes, the winnings and losings of the royal gamesters, explain much that could not otherwise be understood.

The eighteenth century began with two long wars: That of the Spanish Succession, started over the will of Charles II of Spain and the vanity of Louis XIV, who longed to have a relative on the Spanish throne; this conflict involved the Western powers, as well as the Austrian Hapsburgs. Then there was the Great Northern War going on at the same time, in which Sweden, Denmark, northern Germany, Poland, Russia, and even Turkey took a hand. As we look over the map of Europe after Louis XIV and Charles XII had died, we note the following allotment of European territories, which was to be the basis for many later shiftings of boundary lines down to the present.

Of all the countries which participated in the War of the Spanish Succession, England came out with the most considerable and permanent gains. In the first place, the question of the succession to the English crown was set at rest. Louis XIV had always shown himself ready to forward a revolution in England in order to place a Catholic king once more upon the throne. But he finally agreed to recognize Anne as the legitimate ruler and promised never, either openly or by fomenting sedition, to attack her or her Protestant successors.

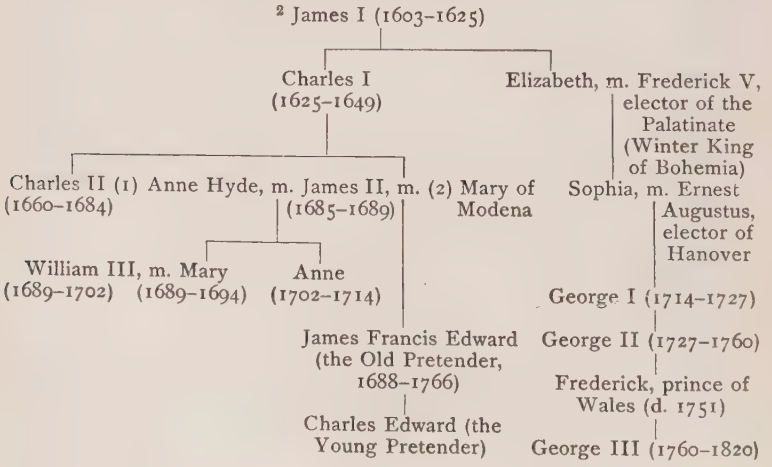
England acquired from France the territories of Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, all of which she still holds. In this way the gradual expulsion of the French from North America began. England received from Spain the fortress of Gibralter. She also induced Spain to bind herself not to grant to France or to any other nation the right to trade freely with Spanish colonies, and England secured for herself the highly prized privilege of supplying the Spanish colonies with African slaves for thirty years.

Hereafter, if a common inaccuracy is to be avoided, *England* should, as a European power, be referred to as *Great Britain* and the *English* government be called the *British* government;

for, with the union established between England and Scotland in 1707, the whole island of Greater Britannia (originally distinguished in this way from Lesser Britannia, that is, Bretagne, across the Channel), including England, Wales, and Scotland, became a single state.[1]

In order to make the later history clear, a change in the English dynasty must also be noted at this point, just as England was becoming Great Britain. None of Queen Anne's children survived her, and she was succeeded, according to an arrangement made before her accession, by the nearest Protestant heir. This was George I, son of James I's granddaughter, Sophia.[2]

[1] For centuries the difficulties between the two countries had led to much bloodshed and suffering. In 1603, on the accession to the English throne of the Scotch king, James VI, as James I of England, the two countries had come under the same ruler, but each had maintained its own independent parliament and system of government. Finally, in 1707, both countries agreed to unite in one government. Forty-five members of the British House of Commons were thereafter to be chosen in Scotland, and sixteen Scotch lords were added to the British House of Lords. About a century later, January 1, 1801, the official name of Great Britain became "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." There seems to have been a desire to please all the countries included in the United Kingdom together with Ireland when the heir to the throne (the present Prince of Wales), born in 1894, was named Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David.


[2] James I (1603–1625)
Charles I (1625–1649)
Elizabeth, m. Frederick V, elector of the Palatinate (Winter King of Bohemia)
Charles II (1660–1684)
(1) Anne Hyde, m. James II, (1685–1689)
(2) Mary of Modena
Sophia, m. Ernest Augustus, elector of Hanover
William III, m. Mary (1689–1702) (1689–1694)
Anne (1702–1714)
George I (1714–1727)
James Francis Edward (the Old Pretender, 1688–1766)
George II (1727–1760)
Frederick, prince of Wales (d. 1751)
Charles Edward (the Young Pretender)
George III (1760–1820)

She had married the elector of Hanover[1]; consequently the king who came to the English throne in 1714 was a German, and, as elector of Hanover, his continental realms belonged to the Holy Roman Empire.

This circumstance did not cause as much trouble as might have been expected. There was no question of uniting Hanover and Great Britain in any way. Indeed, Great Britain assumed no responsibility for her king's German territory. Nevertheless the policy of the Hanoverian kings was from time to time influenced by attacks made upon their electorate. The inability of George I to speak English led to an important result, since he was compelled to turn over most of the business of government to his ministers, and, as will be shown later, this led to the development of the famous British cabinet.[2]

Great Britain was now in a position to overshadow not only the French but her former rivals on the sea, the Dutch and the Spanish. Her navy became the finest and most powerful in the world. For a quarter of a century after the Peace of Utrecht, Great Britain managed, with a trifling exception, to keep out of the struggles on the Continent. Later, as we shall see, she felt obliged, at least through subsidies and diplomatic negotiations, to intervene in European conflicts in order to maintain "the balance of power," which she believed essential to her welfare. Her important wars were waged in far-distant portions of the world and more often on sea than on land. Fifty years after the death of Louis XIV, Great Britain succeeded in driving the French out of both India and North America and so laid the foundations of that vast over-sea empire which secured her a long commercial supremacy among the peoples of the earth (see the following chapter).

[1] Originally there had been but seven electors, but the duke of Bavaria had been made an elector during the Thirty Years' War, and in 1692 the father of George I had been permitted to assume the title of "Elector of Hanover."

[2] See pages 186 f., below.

When Louis XIV died in 1715, after a reign of more than seventy years, the French appear to have experienced a sense of relief in being well rid of the old man. There was no one to spoil the general satisfaction by foretelling that the new king, then but five years old, was beginning a long and inglorious reign during which he would gratify a taste for low debauchery and exhibit an insensibility to the public welfare quite alien to his great-grandfather, whose death was mistaken for a harbinger of better times to come. France was exhausted by her long wars and ceased to be a serious menace to her neighbors.

But even if her king was incompetent and her generals inferior, and her campaigns resulted in shameful defeats,—though she lost her colonies and was weighed down by bad taxes and the survivals of feudal dues and privileges,—France nevertheless, during the reign of Louis XV, became the leader of European thought and the teacher of the nations. Her scientists, philosophers, and economists, as we shall see, pointed the way toward progress by denouncing the old abuses and errors,—sometimes too hotly, it is true, but in such a manner that no one could refuse to listen to them. At last, in the Revolution of 1789, France gave Europe an example of thoroughgoing reform that was sooner or later followed by all the European powers.

War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735): Italy the Apple of Discord

The division of the variegated and wide-flung Spanish realms after the War of the Spanish Succession led to various complications which well illustrate the European situation of the time and the problems of the future. The Bourbon Philip was permitted to retain the crown of Spain and the Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere. He had, however, to give up the Spanish Netherlands, which were one day to become the kingdom of Belgium. These went to Austria. To Austria were

also assigned most of the Spanish possessions in Italy,—Naples, Milan, and the island of Sardinia. Sicily was given to the duke of Savoy, but two royal marriages led to two little wars before the Italian situation was adjusted.

The new Bourbon king of Spain had married an enterprising Italian princess, Elizabeth of Parma, who, regardless of the lives and treasure of her Spanish subjects, soon set her heart upon securing some kind of respectable principality for their little son, Don Carlos. Under her influence Spain tried in 1717–1718 to regain Sardinia and Sicily by arms, but was forced by France and Great Britain to agree to a peace in 1720 in which Parma and Tuscany were promised to Don Carlos as soon as their rulers, who were without heirs, should die. The Emperor at last acknowledged Philip as king of Spain, but only on condition of receiving Sicily, which was taken from the duke of Savoy, who had to content himself with the island of Sardinia and the title of King of Sardinia.[1]

Austria and Spain, however, were not satisfied to leave Italy alone, and before long found an excuse for renewed fighting and another readjustment. Louis XV of France had married the daughter of that Stanislaus Leszczynski whom the Swedish king, Charles XII, had vainly tried to keep on the Polish throne (see page 37, above). Louis felt it his duty and privilege to attempt the restoration of the deposed king. An opportunity offered itself in 1733, and the French were forced to go to war in the interest of their king's father-in-law. Spain sided with Stanislaus and Austria supported his rival; but it was *Italy*, not *Poland*, in which both were really interested.

After two years of hostilities (the War of the Polish Succession) and three years of negotiations a new agreement was made at Vienna in 1738. The Emperor, who had been badly

[1] The entire disregard of the "self-determination of nations" may be noted in all these shiftings. But the misnamed kings of Sardinia were destined ultimately to become kings of Italy. The dukes of Savoy had come into possession of Piedmont, with its city of Turin, in 1601. In this way they became an important power in northwestern Italy.

beaten, agreed to turn Naples and Sicily over to Don Carlos on condition that the latter should give up all claim to Parma and Tuscany. In this way the queen of Spain secured the coveted kingdom of the Two Sicilies[1] for her son and his heirs. This younger branch of the Spanish Bourbons held all southern Italy until the last of them was driven out by Garibaldi in 1860.

As Louis XV had not succeeded in replacing his father-in-law on the Polish throne, he looked about for a dukedom to solace the ex-king's declining years. Since there was none vacant, the duke of Lorraine was induced to surrender his patrimony to Stanislaus Leszczynski, after whose death (which occurred in 1766) France was to be allowed to annex this long-coveted region. In view of this advantageous arrangement France gave her consent to a marriage between Francis, the dispossessed duke of Lorraine, and the Emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa, of whom we shall hear more anon. As an indemnity for the loss of his duchy, Francis was given Tuscany, with its famous city of Florence. This had long been under the rule of the Medici, but the line died out in 1737, and their lands thus passed to a stranger from across the Alps.

Italy's fate was sealed for more than a century. As we glance at the map (in 1750) we find a Spanish ruler once more controlling, as of old, all the southern portions of the peninsula. Another foreign power, Austria, holds Milan and, indirectly, Tuscany (Parma she agreed in 1748 to hand over to a younger son of the queen of Spain). Across the peninsula, between the Austrian and the Spanish lands, lay the Papal States, which for hundreds of years had belonged to the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The two ancient republics, Venice and Genoa, once the glory of Italy, had lost a great part of their former importance, nor were the two little independent duchies of Modena and Lucca in a position to resist foreign interference.

[1] This singular name owes its origin to the fact that during the Middle Ages the kingdom of Naples was commonly called "Sicily," as well as the island of Sicily.

THE ITALIAN STATES
IN 1750
Under Spanish Bourbons
Under the House of Austria
Papal States
Remaining Italian States
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
AUSTRIAN DOMAINS
SAVOY
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Turin
PIEDMONT
Milan
MILAN
REP. OF VENICE
Venice
PARMA
MODENA
GENOA
Lucca
Florence
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
DALMATIA
I. CORSICA (To Genoa)
Rome
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
SARDINIA
Palermo
SICILY
AFRICA
0 50 100 200
Scale of Miles

As later history showed, the hope of Italy lay in the king of Sardinia, whose capital was Turin. His realms consisted of Piedmont and the mountainous Savoy, together with the unimportant island from which he derived the royal title that he was destined one day to exchange for the more glorious one of "King of Italy." We shall later describe the extraordinary series of events in the nineteenth century that enabled Italy to free herself from the control of foreign nations which had so long and so impudently disposed of her possessions and permitted her, after many vicissitudes, to unite all her scattered members into a firm national union.

The Peace of Utrecht did not affect the Holy Roman Empire, which remained for almost another century the same loose union of practically independent dukedoms, principalities, bishoprics, and towns that it long had been. The new kingdom of Prussia was, however, preparing to assume an important place in European affairs.

As for eastern Europe we have seen that Peter the Great had at last won an outlet to the sea for Russia. Little further happened in the way of Russian expansion down to the accession of Catherine the Great in 1762. The Turks had been driven out of Hungary, which was under Hapsburg rule. We have now to take up the European struggles which filled the middle of the eighteenth century.

Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa

It was reserved for Frederick II of Prussia to win for his little kingdom a prominent place among the European powers and to earn for himself the title of "the Great." As a youth he gave no promise of military distinction. He had disgusted his father by his fondness for French books and his passion for writing verses and playing the flute. When eighteen years old Frederick had tried to run away to escape the harsh military discipline to which he was subjected. He was captured and

brought before the king, who was in such a rage that he seemed upon the point of killing his renegade son with his sword.

After this Frederick consented to give some attention to public affairs. He inspected the royal domains and began, for the first time, to study the peasants, their farms, and their cattle. He was very fond of writing and seized every spare moment of a busy life to push forward his works upon history, politics, and military matters. No less than twenty-four volumes of his works, *all in French*, were published shortly after his death, and these did not include everything that he had managed to write.

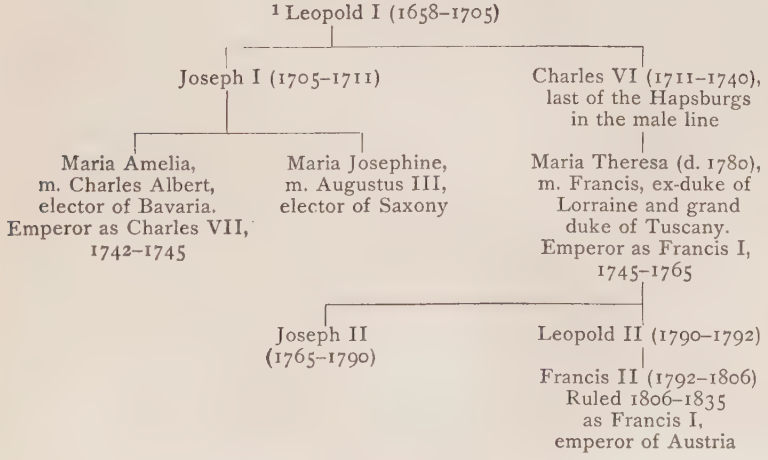
Frederick had no trouble, when the time came, in showing the world that he was one of the greatest generals of modern times; but his military prowess and his statesmanship did not prevent his continuing to gratify his literary and scientific tastes. Upon his father's death in 1740 it seemed for a moment as if he proposed to inaugurate an era of peace. He dismissed the giant guards whom his father had taken such pains to get together; he reorganized the Academy of Berlin and hastened to confer with the great Voltaire in regard to the new responsibilities which he had now to meet.

Frederick came to the throne in the spring of 1740. In the autumn the emperor, Charles VI, died and left his Austrian domains to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, then only twenty-three years old, five years younger than her future rival, the king of Prussia. Her father, it will be remembered, had aspired to the throne of Spain and had most reluctantly acknowledged the Bourbon Philip V, with whom he long continued to fight over their respective claims to Italian territory. Since he had no male relatives to whom the Hapsburg possessions would descend after his death, he labored for years to insure to his daughter Maria Theresa the inheritance of all the Austrian lands. In order to do this he drew up a revised code of laws relating to the rights of succession, which was called the Pragmatic Sanction. This he so arranged as to exclude the daugh-

ters of his elder brother and give preference to his own.[1] By promises, concessions of territory, and tedious negotiations he induced the more important powers of Europe—Russia, Prussia, Holland, Spain, England, and France—to agree to his plan.

For a time it seemed as if no one were going to take advantage of Maria Theresa's inexperience to rob her of her outlying possessions. She began immediately to display astonishing energy and aptitude for the business of governing. Her clear judgment, her distinguished bearing, her love of pomp and ceremony, all helped her to sustain her dignity in the trying circumstances in which she soon found herself. She had none of Frederick's appreciation of culture, and, unlike most of her royal contemporaries, exhibited a contempt for science and philosophy. Nor had she any sympathy with religious toleration; on the contrary, she abhorred the skeptical notions of the Prussian king and his admiration for Voltaire.

The problems which confronted her would have been difficult enough if her realms had been compact and inhabited by people of a single race. The Austrian possessions were, however, a most miscellaneous and scattered collection of terri-


[1] Leopold I (1658–1705)
Joseph I (1705–1711)
Charles VI (1711–1740), last of the Hapsburgs in the male line
Maria Amelia, m. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria. Emperor as Charles VII, 1742–1745
Maria Josephine, m. Augustus III, elector of Saxony
Maria Theresa (d. 1780), m. Francis, ex-duke of Lorraine and grand duke of Tuscany. Emperor as Francis I, 1745–1765
Joseph II (1765–1790)
Leopold II (1790–1792)
Francis II (1792–1806) Ruled 1806–1835 as Francis I, emperor of Austria

tories, great and small, inhabited by a great variety of widely differing races: Germans in Austria proper, Czechs mixed with Germans in Bohemia and Moravia, Magyars in Hungary, Croatians and Slovenes to the south, Italians in Milan and Tuscany, French and Walloons in the Netherlands. The chief cities of the young queen included such scattered and varied places as Vienna, Pest, Prague, Milan, Brussels, and Antwerp.

While the Spanish Bourbons might try to increase their Italian territories at her expense, or France encroach upon the Netherlands, Maria Theresa's more natural enemies were nearer home. Of her two cousins (the daughters of her father's elder brother, Emperor Joseph I) one had married the elector of Saxony; the other, the elector of Bavaria. Both these princes accordingly laid claim to portions of Maria Theresa's lands; the elector of Saxony wanted Moravia, and the elector of Bavaria wanted Bohemia.

It was, however, none of Maria Theresa's relatives that first attacked her, but Frederick of Prussia, whose anxiety to increase the bounds of his kingdom precipitated a series of wars which lasted with scarcely any interruption for nearly a quarter of a century and altered the map of the world more fundamentally than even the long War of the Spanish Succession had. Frederick saw no easier way of forwarding his designs than by robbing the seemingly defenseless Maria Theresa of Silesia, a strip of territory lying to the southeast of Brandenburg.

To save appearances he offered to join Austria in a firm alliance if she would peacefully cede Silesia to him, but Maria Theresa indignantly replied that she was prepared to defend her subjects, not to sell them. Thereupon, scarcely two months after the death of Charles VI, Frederick marched his army into the coveted district, occupied the important city of Breslau, and had soon gained possession of the whole province. He did not take the trouble to declare war, and offered as an excuse for his attack only a vague claim to a part of the land.

War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748)

Maria Theresa got together an army with difficulty, but her troops were hopelessly defeated by the Prussian king at Mollwitz early in April, 1741. This brilliant victory attracted the attention of all the European monarchs, especially those who saw a prospect of following Frederick's example and seizing some part of the defenseless queen's territory. France joined Prussia in June, hoping to weaken her old enemy Austria; to secure the election of her friend, the elector of Bavaria, as emperor instead of Maria Theresa's husband, Francis; and, lastly, to gain the long-coveted Austrian Netherlands. Spain, Sardinia, and Bavaria joined France and Prussia. But Maria Theresa's appeal to Great Britain had brought a prompt response from George II, who, as elector of Hanover, feared the increasing power of Prussia and consequently induced Parliament to make a grant to aid the young queen in defending herself.

The French army joined that of the elector of Bavaria and advanced into Austria. They turned into Bohemia, took Prague in November, 1741, and forced the representatives of Bohemia to recognize the elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, as their king. Early next year he was duly chosen emperor, as Charles VII, at Frankfurt.

A great part of Maria Theresa's possessions were now in the hands of her numerous enemies. Nevertheless her courage did not fail. She appealed to her Hungarian subjects. It took a good deal of negotiation to induce them to take part in a war that had already proved so disastrous; but at last their queen roused their enthusiasm, and they provided her with soldiers so that she was able in a short time to turn the tide of fortune in her favor.

In February, 1742, the very day on which Charles Albert was crowned emperor, one of her armies swept into his capital of Munich, while the other was defeating his French allies.

In the summer she came to terms with the Prussian king, who perfidiously deserted his French ally on condition that Maria Theresa should cede him Silesia. The Austrian troops forced the French across the Rhine, and Charles VII, in spite of his august title, became a sort of vagrant who had to rely upon the French commander for pocket money.

The war, instead of coming to an end as might have been expected, now broadened out by coalescing with a war between Great Britain and Spain, which had begun in 1739, just before the seizure of Silesia by Frederick. The first Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V, became in later life a sad mental and physical wreck; but his energetic wife, Elizabeth of Parma, did what she could, with the aid of able ministers, to strengthen her adopted country. The marine forces were increased and the heavy old galleons were replaced by more modern ships. Efforts were made, too, to check the smuggling which the British continued to carry on.

The British merchants, who had long violated with impunity the Spanish laws which prohibited them from trading with the West Indies and South America, began to bring home stories of the hardships they had suffered in Spanish prisons. One of the many stories alleged that a certain Captain Jenkins, while engaged in legitimate commerce, had been arrested by the savage Spaniards, who had cut off his ear. The captain's story helped to excite the populace and give a name to the War of Jenkins's Ear.

The pacific Sir Robert Walpole, who was then at the head of English affairs, discouraged a resort to arms and urged a careful investigation of the charges; but he was forced to agree to war in 1739. When he heard the clamor of bells announcing to the people the commencement of hostilities, he declared, "They are ringing the bells now; they will be wringing their hands soon."

The momentous results in India and America of the war thus begun will form the subject of the following chapter. So

far as the continent of Europe was concerned, the conflict between Great Britain and Spain merged into the general turmoil; for France, instead of being discouraged by her reverses, made advances to Spain and concluded a "family compact" by which each branch of the Bourbons agreed to defend the territories of the other. France promised also to help Spain to regain Gibraltar and Minorca, which she had been forced to cede to Great Britain, and to win the English colony of Georgia in North America. France, as an ally of Spain, was now at war with Great Britain as well as with Austria, and at once threw her troops into the Austrian Netherlands, where they won for a time victories as brilliant as those achieved by Louis XIV upon the same battle ground.[1]

Frederick of Prussia scarcely participated in the war. France was thus left in the lurch once more while Frederick quoted an ancient verse, "Happy are they who, having secured their own advantage, can look tranquilly upon the embarrassments of others."

For four years the war raged in the Austrian Netherlands, in the Rhine valley, in Silesia, Saxony, Italy, North America, and India without bringing permanent gain or glory to any of the combatants, for all the fearful sacrifices of life and money. Finally all parties, weary of the long conflict, laid down their arms and agreed to what is called in diplomacy the *status quo ante bellum*, which meant that everything should be restored in general to the conditions which existed before hostilities began.

In the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 France agreed once again to make no further attempt to aid the Stuart pretenders

[1] The French forces ventured to invade the territory of the United Provinces in 1747. The Dutch, frightened as they had been in 1672 by Louis XIV's invasion, proclaimed William IV, Prince of Orange, *hereditary* stadholder of all the provinces, and so transformed the former republic into a monarchy in all but name.

to regain the English throne.[1] The Pragmatic Sanction and the election of Maria Theresa's husband as Emperor Francis I were ratified by the powers. Little Parma was turned over by Austria to a younger son of Elizabeth of Parma, queen of Spain. Great Britain had spent some three hundred and twenty millions of dollars and yet had not succeeded in forcing Spain to promise to stop searching British vessels suspected of smuggling or to remedy any of the other abuses which had led to the war.

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763)

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle proved to be only a truce, for none of the parties to the settlement were satisfied with the outcome. The question of French and English predominance on the seas and in India and North America was left undecided. Maria Theresa could not reconcile herself to the loss of Silesia; according to an English envoy she forgot that she was a queen and broke into tears like a woman whenever she saw a Silesian. Therefore, when the Tsarina Elizabeth offered her aid in recovering the lost province, she gladly accepted it. Louis XV harbored bitter feelings against his former ally, Frederick, whom he charged with breach of faith in withdrawing from the conflict when he had gained his own ends. On the other hand, Frederick made fun of the French generals and retorted that Louis likewise had thought only of his own interests.

The renewed conflict, which was to involve the Indian rajahs of Hindustan and the colonists of Virginia and New England,

[1] During the war Charles Edward, grandson of James II, had landed in Scotland, gathered the Highland clans about him, and marched southward into England with the hope of wresting the English scepter from George II. France having failed to send the expected aid, he was utterly defeated at Culloden in 1746 and regained the Continent only after the most romantic adventures. This episode put an end forever to the attempts of the Stuarts to win back the English throne.

began, singularly enough, near the site now occupied by busy Pittsburgh, where General Braddock was defeated (1775) by the French and their Indian allies in his attempt to take Fort Duquesne. The English captured two French frigates off the coast of Newfoundland, and war commenced on the high seas before it was declared in 1756. Frederick the Great was well aware that Maria Theresa was forming a coalition against him and accordingly entered into an alliance with Great Britain, who was thereby ranged among the enemies of Austria instead of, as formerly, among her friends.

The news of Frederick's alliance with Great Britain had a remarkable effect upon the court of Louis XV. Kaunitz, the able ambassador of Maria Theresa, had been busy trying to bring France over to his side, and he now succeeded; in spite of two hundred years of hostility to the House of Hapsburg, France bound herself to her inveterate enemy in an alliance of friendship and defense. After this astonishing diplomatic revolution the new friends proceeded to plan a partition of Prussia. Maria Theresa was to reduce Frederick's territories to the boundaries of a hundred years before, deprive him of his rank of king, and thus thoroughly humiliate him. Russia, Saxony, and Sweden also agreed to join in the concerted attack upon Prussia, and armies gathering from all points of the compass threatened to reduce the Hohenzollern state to insignificance.

However, it was in this very war that Frederick earned his title of "the Great" and showed himself the equal of the ablest generals that the world has seen. Learning the object of the allies, he did not wait for them to declare war upon him; with entire disregard of international law he invaded Saxony, expelled the elector, assumed the administration of the province, and defeated the Austrians sent against him (1756). The next year, however, he found himself thickly beset with difficulties. Sweden, having joined the coalition against him, occupied East Pomerania; France began to pour an enormous

army into his Rhenish provinces; Russian troops invaded East Prussia and overwhelmed the general whom Frederick dispatched against them; and Frederick himself was badly beaten at Kolin by the Imperial army.

Nevertheless Frederick recruited fresh levies, turned to the western part of Saxony to meet the oncoming French troops, and gained one of his most famous victories at the battle of Rossbach (1757) against the French and Imperial forces. Then, swinging back to the east, he worsted the Austrians and Russians a month later at Leuthen in Silesia in a memorable battle which Napoleon afterwards declared would alone have placed the Prussian king among the great generals of all time. For five years more Frederick continued the unequal struggle in Saxony, Silesia, Brandenburg, and Bohemia, sometimes in victory and sometimes in bitter defeat, but subjected to a constant strain on his resources which eventually shattered his splendid army and embittered its intrepid commander.

During these trying years one of Frederick's principal sources of support was the annual subsidy of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds furnished him by William Pitt, then the chief minister in Great Britain and director of British operations on land and sea. Unfortunately for Frederick, in the autumn of 1761 Pitt was forced to resign his office owing to the fact that the new sovereign, George III (1760–1820), longed for peace and was especially opposed to the minister's plan for increasing the war burden by fighting the king of Spain, who had just renewed the family compact with France. The subsidies that had so materially helped Frederick in his struggle were now withdrawn, and he was advised to make terms with his enemies. Naturally this reversal of the British policy greatly incensed Frederick and inspired him with a stanch hatred for England which he cherished until his death.

The outlook would now have been gloomy indeed for Frederick had it not been for the death of his bitter enemy, the

NORTH SEA
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
HOLSTEIN
R. Elbe
R. Niemen
Königsberg
EAST PRUSSIA
POMERANIA
Marienburg
MECKLENBURG
Hamburg
HANOVER
BRANDENBURG
Berlin
Potsdam
Küstrin
R. Vistula
Warsaw
POLAND
NETHERLANDS
SAXONY
Dresden
R. Rhine
R. Oder
SILESIA
Breslau
BOHEMIA
PALATINATE
BADEN
WÜRTTEMBERG
BAVARIA
PRUSSIA
at the Accession of
FREDERICK THE GREAT
in 1740
0 50 100
Scale of Miles
Danzig
WEST PRUSSIA
Hubertsburg
Rossbach
Aix-la-Chapelle
Frankfurt
Prague
Kolin
Munich
MORAVIA
PRUSSIA
at the Death of
FREDERICK THE GREAT
in 1786
0 50 100
Scale of Miles
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

Tsarina Elizabeth of Russia, in 1762. Her successor, Peter III, was a great admirer of Frederick and promptly concluded peace with him. Freed thus from further danger on the Russian side, Frederick turned upon the Austrians, drove them out of Silesia, and in November agreed to a truce with Maria Theresa as a preliminary to a final settlement, which was reached in Hubertsburg in Saxony in February, 1763. The Seven Years' War brought to Frederick only a renewed confirmation of his claim to the Silesian province and to Austria an enormous war debt and the promise of the Prussian king to assist Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, in securing the succession to his father as emperor.

Meanwhile France and England brought their maritime and colonial struggle to a close in a treaty of peace signed at Paris in February, 1763. This settlement was most disastrous for Louis XV, who, instead of the glory and dominion he had sought, had to acknowledge only defeat and ruin. The great empire which the French colonists had been building up in the valley of the St. Lawrence and east of the Mississippi for more than a century had to be surrendered to England. Though France retained five trading posts in India, they were not to be fortified, and thus the hopes of conquering Hindustan, which she had cherished during recent years, came to naught. Great Britain, on the other hand, emerged from the conflict incontestably mistress of the seas and the world's greatest colonial power (see the following chapter).

In addition to the discredit resulting from these grave territorial losses, Louis XV had become burdened by a connection with the House of Austria, which was thoroughly unpopular with his subjects, and he had incurred a great war debt that helped materially to bring on in later years the financial disaster which precipitated the French Revolution.

Three Partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, and 1795

Frederick's success in seizing and holding one of Austria's finest provinces did not satisfy him. The central portions of his kingdom—Brandenburg, Silesia, and Pomerania—were completely cut off from East Prussia by a considerable tract known as West Prussia, which belonged to the kingdom of Poland. The map will show how great must have been Frederick's temptation to fill this gap, especially as Poland was in no condition to defend its possessions.

With the exception of Russia, Poland (including Lithuania) was the largest kingdom in Europe. It covered an immense plain with no natural boundaries, and the population, which was very thinly scattered, belonged to several races. Besides the Poles themselves, there were Germans in the cities of West Prussia, and Lithuanians and Russians in Lithuania. The Jews were very numerous everywhere, forming half the population in some of the towns. The Poles were usually Catholics, the Germans were Protestants, and the Russians adhered to the Greek Church. These differences in religion, added to those of race, created endless difficulties and dissensions.

Instead of having developed a strong monarchy, as her neighbors—Prussia, Russia, and Austria—had done, Poland remained in a state of feudal anarchy which the nobles had taken the greatest pains to perpetuate by binding their kings in such a way that they had no power either to maintain order or to defend the country from attack. The king could not declare war, make peace, impose taxes, or pass any law without the consent of the diet. As the diet was composed of representatives of the nobility, any one of whom could freely veto any measure (for no measure could pass that had even one vote against it), most of the diets broke up without accomplishing anything.

The kingship was not hereditary in Poland; each time the ruler died, the nobles assembled and chose a new one, com-

monly a foreigner. These elections were tumultuous; and the various European powers regularly interfered, by force or bribery, to secure the election of a candidate who they believed would favor their interests.

The nobles in Poland were very numerous. There were perhaps a million and a half of them, mostly very poor, owning only a trifling bit of land. There was a saying that the poor noble's dog, even if he sat in the middle of the estate, was sure to have his tail upon a neighbor's land. It was the few rich and powerful families that really controlled such government as existed in Poland. There was no middle class except in the few German towns. The peasants were miserable, indeed. They had sunk from serfs to slaves over whom their lords had the right of life and death. They owed all the fruits of their labor to their lords and were mere chattels, living in hopeless filth and misery. There was for them no king, no law but the will of their masters, no country but the manor on which they were born and to which they belonged like the cattle in the fields.

Augustus III of Poland died in 1763, just as the Seven Years' War had been brought to a close, and Frederick immediately arranged with the new Russian ruler, the famous Catherine II, to put upon the vacant throne her favorite, Poniatowski, who took the title of Stanislaus II.

Since Catherine (1762–1796) was to play a conspicuous rôle in all the affairs of Europe for thirty-five years, a word must be said of the manner in which this German woman became the ruler of all the Russias. She was the daughter of one of Frederick the Great's officers and had been selected by him in 1743, at the request of the Tsarina Elizabeth, as a suitable wife for Peter, the heir to the throne. At the age of fourteen this inexperienced girl found herself in the midst of the intrigues of the court at St. Petersburg; she joined the Greek Church, exchanged her name of Sophia for that of Catherine, and, by zealous study of both books and men, prepared to make her new name famous.

Her husband proved to be a worthless fellow who early began to neglect and maltreat her. Catherine won over the imperial guard and had herself proclaimed empress. Peter was forced to abdicate, and was carried off by some of Catherine's supporters, who put him to death, probably with her tacit consent.

In the spirit of Peter the Great, Catherine determined to carry on the Europeanizing of Russia and extend her empire. She was unquestionably thoroughly unscrupulous and hypocritical, but she was shrewd in the choice and management of her ministers and was herself a hard worker. She rose at six o'clock in the morning, prepared her own breakfast, and turned to the dull business of government, carefully considering the reports laid before her relating to the army, the navy, finances, and foreign affairs. She read and admired the writings of Voltaire and the various other French philosophers and reformers, whom she welcomed at her court whenever she could induce them to visit her. She was, in short, a short of female Frederick the Great.[1]

To return to Poland, Catherine was disappointed in Stanislaus Poniatowski, who showed himself favorable to reform. He even proposed to do away with the *liberum veto*, the sacred right of any member of the diet to block a measure no matter how salutary. Russia, however, supported by Prussia, intervened to demand that the *liberum veto*, which insured continued anarchy, should be maintained, and that the adherents of the Protestant and Greek churches should be granted reasonable rights.

Meanwhile France, in order to direct Catherine's attention to another quarter, encouraged the Turks to attack her; but Catherine's armies gained victory after victory. She sent a fleet around through the North Sea into the Mediterranean (1770) which destroyed the Turkish squadron in the Ægean Sea. Her forces occupied the coast of the Black Sea and

[1] For Catherine's reforms see below, pp. 190 f.

seemed ready to cross the Balkan Mountains and perhaps put an end to the Turkish power in Europe.

Austria was thoroughly alarmed by the prospect of having Russia for a neighbor on the southeast instead of the ever-weakening Turks. She consequently approached her old enemy, Frederick, and between them they decided that Russia should be allowed to take a portion of Poland if she would consent to give up most of her Turkish conquests; then Austria, in order to maintain the balance of power, should also be given a slice of Poland, and Frederick should take the longed-for West Prussia.

Accordingly, in 1772 Poland's three neighbors arranged to take each a portion of the distracted kingdom. Austria was assigned a strip inhabited by almost three million Poles and Russians and thus added two new kinds of people and two new languages to her already varied collection of races and tongues. Prussia was given a smaller piece; but it was the coveted West Prussia which she needed to fill out her boundaries, and its inhabitants were to a considerable extent Germans and Protestants. Russia's strip on the east was inhabited entirely by Russians. The Polish diet was forced, by the advance of Russian troops to Warsaw, to approve the partition.

This scandalous mutilation of an ancient kingdom, which had once been one of the most extensive in Europe, awakened general indignation and touched the seared consciences of men who had become accustomed to see thousands of soldiers killed and hundreds of towns sacked to secure a trifling addition of territory to France or a throne for the queen of Spain's son. Even those who had shared the booty showed signs of shame, especially Maria Theresa, who wept while she reached out her hand for her share.

Poland seemed at first, however, to have learned a great lesson from the disaster. During the twenty years following its first dismemberment, there was an extraordinary revival in education, art, and literature; the old universities at Vilna

and Krakow were reorganized and many new schools were established. King Stanislaus Poniatowski summoned French and Italian artists and entered into correspondence with the French philosophers and reformers. Historians and poets sprang up to give distinction to the last days of Polish independence.

The new Polish constitution, approved on May 3, 1791, did away with the *liberum veto*, made the crown hereditary, established a parliament something like that of Great Britain; in short, gave to the king power enough to conduct the government efficiently and yet made him and his ministers dependent upon the representatives of the nation.

There was a party, however, which regretted the changes and feared that in time they might result in doing away with the absolute control of the nobles over the peasants. These opponents of reform appealed to Catherine for aid. She, mindful as always of her own interests, denounced all changes in a government "under which the Polish republic had flourished for so many centuries," and declared that the reformers were no better than the abhorred French Jacobins, who were then busy destroying the power of their king. She sent her soldiers and her wild Cossacks into Poland, and the enemies of the new constitution were able with her help to undo all that had been done and to reëstablish the *liberum veto*.

Not satisfied with plunging Poland into its former anarchy, Russia and Prussia determined to rob her of still more territory. Frederick the Great's successor, Frederick William II, ordered his forces across his eastern boundary, on the ground that Danzig was sending grain to the French Revolutionists, that Poland was infested with Jacobins, and that, in general, she threatened the tranquillity of her neighbors. In this second partition (1793) Prussia cut deep into Poland, added a million and a half of Poles to her subjects, and acquired the towns of Thorn, Danzig, and Posen. Russia's gains were three millions of people, who at least belonged to her own race.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND
50 0 50 100 150 200
Scale of Miles.
Territories taken by Russia
Territories taken by Austria
Territories taken by Prussia
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
St. Petersburg
Gotland
Gulf of Riga
COURLAND
Riga
Libau
Mitau
To Russia in 1795
To Russia in 1772
Smolensk
Königsberg
Danzig
POMERANIA
LITHUANIA
WHITE RUSSIA
Marienburg
EAST PRUSSIA
To Prussia in 1772
To Prussia in 1795
Grodno
To Russia in 1793
Thorn
R. Vistula
Posen
Gnesen
BLACK RUSSIA
To Prussia in 1793
Warsaw
To Austria in 1795
RED RUSSIA
Lublin
Vladimir
LITTLE RUSSIA
Kiev
SILESIA
Breslau
R. Oder
Cracow
Ratibor
AUSTRIA
LUDOMERIA
To Austria in 1772
Lemberg
Brünn
GALICIA
CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS
Vienna
R. Danube
Buda-Pest
HUNGARY
R. Theiss
MOLDAVIA
Odessa
TRANSYLVANIA
BLACK SEA
THE M.-N. WORKS, BUFFALO.

On this occasion Austria was put off with the promises of her confederates, Russia and Prussia, that they would use their good offices to secure Bavaria for her in exchange for the Austrian Netherlands.

At this juncture the Poles found a national leader in the brave Kosciusko, who had fought under Washington for American liberty. With the utmost care and secrecy he organized an insurrection in the spring of 1794 and summoned the Polish people to join his standard of national independence. The Poles who had been incorporated into the Prussian monarchy thereupon rose and forced Frederick William to withdraw his forces.

Catherine was ready, however, to crush the patriots. Kosciusko was wounded and captured in battle, and by the end of the year Russia was in control of Warsaw. The Polish king was compelled to abdicate, and the remnants of the dismembered kingdom were divided (1795), after much bitter contention, among Austria, Russia, and Prussia. In the three partitions which blotted out Poland from the map of Europe, Russia received practically all the old grand duchy of Lithuania, or nearly twice the combined shares of Austria and Prussia.

Except for the extinction of Poland and the increase in the size of Prussia, Russia, and Austria, with the accompanying novel complications, no very important shiftings of boundary lines or changes of dynasties resulted in Europe from the prolonged wars of the eighteenth century. The reader can hardly hope to recollect very long even the few details which have been recalled. They are nevertheless impressive as illustrating the standards of international morality, later to be perpetuated by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars and maintained down to our own time. The *raison d'état*, as the diplomatists called it, was evoked to cover governmental perfidies and aggressions entirely abhorrent to the prevailing notions of private human relationships, outside those of the criminal class.

CHAPTER XXIII

EUROPEAN EXPANSION OVERSEAS

How the Globe became Europe's Market Place

Perhaps the most amazing peculiarity of western-European civilization is its tendency to diffuse itself rapidly among all mankind. No considerable portion of the globe has remained unaffected by modern European enterprises, inventions, and discoveries. There have always been wanderers and conquerors both by land and by sea, but in the scope of their adventures none can compare with modern European peoples and their colonial offspring in their world-embracing range. They have made possible the intercommunication of all humanity. With the compass to guide, and steam to drive their ever-swifter and ever-larger vessels; with airships to soar above the mountains and rivers,—all barriers, whether of land or of water, have disappeared. Submarine telegraphs and the marvel of radio permit practically instantaneous understandings between the most widely separated points. Modern commerce, unlimited in its growth and insatiable in its demands, has eagerly seized upon all these devices to convert the whole globe into a single market place where all nations, peoples, and tribes can conveniently traffic, exchange their wares, and supply their needs.

The war which began in 1914 speedily involved most of the nations of the earth, and left none of them, civilized or savage, wholly untouched by the commotion it caused. Representatives of most of the peoples of the earth now convene around a council table at Geneva; and the delegates from Japan, South Africa, or New Zealand can communicate more readily at any moment with their home government than Louis XIV,

in his palace of Versailles, could have word from Paris, ten miles away. So it has come about that European interests and problems, European thought and invention, have become world interests and problems, world thought and invention. *European history, as shown earlier in this volume, has never been confined to Europe.* Up to the eighteenth century Europe was on the whole passive rather than active, received rather than gave. Then matters began to be reversed: European civilization became aggressive; it invaded, conquered, and acquired; it blandly assumed that the earth and the fullness thereof were its rightful heritage. There might be a price to pay; but this was, to stanch imperialists, "the white man's burden."

Europe includes scarcely a twelfth of the land upon the globe, and yet over three fifths of the world is today either occupied by peoples of European origin or ruled by European states. The possessions of France in Asia and Africa exceed the entire area of Europe; even the little kingdom of the Netherlands administers a colonial dominion three times the size of Germany. The British Empire, of which the island of Great Britain constitutes but a hundredth part, includes one fifth of the world's dry land. Moreover, European peoples have populated the United States, which is nearly as large as all Europe, and rule all Mexico and South America.

Successive wars have been waged during the past two centuries by the European nations in their efforts to extend and defend their distant possessions. The internal affairs of each country have been constantly influenced by the demands of its merchants and the achievements of its sailors and soldiers, fighting rival nations or alien peoples thousands of miles from London, Paris, or Vienna. The great manufacturing towns of England—Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham—have owed their growth and prosperity to India, China, and Australia. Ports like Liverpool, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Marseille would dwindle away if their trade were confined to the demands of their European neighbors.

A brief account has already been given (Vol. I, pp. 335 ff.) of the increase of geographical knowledge and the expansion of European trade before the opening of the eighteenth century. The Portuguese mariners found their way by sea round Africa to India and the Spice Islands. Columbus and his successors revealed the New World of the Americas. Then the Dutch supplanted the Portuguese; the Spanish power declined; and a new but powerful competitor appeared in the field,—England, last, but greatest in its zest for colonial expansion. Previously the English merchant adventurers had trafficked in the Netherlands and even in the Baltic, but there was little indication down to the opening of the seventeenth century that Great Britain was ever to become the queen of the seas.

In the year 1600 certain English business men organized the "Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." It had a right to operate all the way round the world from the Cape of Good Hope to the Strait of Magellan. It came to be called the East India Company, but at that time the "East Indies" was a highly comprehensive term having no special reference to India and including the Spice Islands. Indeed, the first expedition of the new company was made with four vessels, which sailed for Sumatra and then to Java. The next tiny fleet reached the Spice Islands. A little later Surat was occupied by the company and thus a foothold was obtained in India proper, against the hot opposition of the Portuguese but with the permission of the Great Mogul.

The organization of trading companies, not only by the English but by the Dutch and French, was rendered necessary owing to the considerable capital required in fitting out ships, collecting suitable cargoes, and maintaining trading stations (factories, as they were called, after the "factors," or agents, who managed them). The English East India Company was authorized, as the merchant adventurers had been earlier, to choose its officials, make rules for its own government, and defend its interest and monopoly against private and foreign com-

petition. Whatever the terms of their charters, the great companies were all by implication free to make war upon one another; their vessels were equipped with cannon, and troops were collected and used when necessary. These business corporations therefore transcended the ordinary powers of private companies. They were in some respects really *states* which had to manage warlike operations far from the home government. Nor were they unimportant states, since the British East India Company, for instance, became ultimately a conquering power which influenced the lives of millions of people.

India and its Peoples

The Indian peninsula is separated into three great divisions. In the extreme north are the regions of the Himalaya Mountains and their foothills. South of these are plains and the valleys of a network of rivers draining into the Ganges, which flows southeastward for fifteen hundred miles into the Bay of Bengal, fertilizing one of the most thickly populated districts of the world. The third region is the table-land of southern India (the Deccan), rising in many places, especially near the seacoast, into mountain ranges and drained by rivers running eastward into the Bay of Bengal.

While all variations of climate may be found in India, from the extreme heat of the tropical regions to the temperate climate of the north and the alpine cold of the Himalayas, generally speaking the heat and humidity make the country somewhat trying to men accustomed to the colder and drier climes of the north. India yields almost all the mineral and vegetable products which are the objects of modern commerce. The northern plains of the Ganges and its tributaries furnish cotton, tobacco, indigo, spices, dyes, opium, rice, and grain; while the southern table-lands, in addition to grain and cotton, afford a variety of minerals and precious stones, among which are the famous diamonds of Golconda.

The present British domain of India is, including Burma, about as large as all Europe, excluding Russia, and has about as many human beings living within its confines. It is nearly two thousand miles long and two thousand miles wide in its extreme measurements. It is as far from the mouth of the Indus on the west to the mouths of the Ganges on the east as from Dublin to Moscow. From the foot of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin is a journey equal in length to that from Stockholm to Crete. The peoples of India speak about a hundred and fifty different languages, not including various local dialects, and are racially very mixed. In religions and customs they far outrun the variety to be observed in all Europe. Notwithstanding the British supremacy, there are hundreds of native states, large and small, tribes and chieftainships, which still enjoy a considerable degree of self-determination.

There is a picture of early India in one of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*:

> Varied truly are our thoughts.
> Varied are the ways of men. . . .
> I'm a poet, dad is medicine-man,
> Mamma is grinding at the mill.
> With varied thoughts intent on gain
> We follow after wealth of cows. . . .
> The horse [longs for] an easy car to draw,
> The troops of lovers jest and laugh,
> The frog wants too a water pool.
> O Indu, flow round for Indra.[1]

The son is a dreamer, father practices incantations, mother sees to the meals; wealth is reckoned in cattle (as in ancient Rome, hence the Latin *pecunia*, and our "pecuniary"); the horse is useful if sometimes lazy; the frog is entitled, like the lovers, to what he longs for; the powerful god Indra must be invoked to protect and bless. Indeed, so varied were the thoughts of India and varied its ways that its best thinkers

[1] *Vedic Hymns*, pp. 79–80. Translated by Edward J. Thomas.

became tolerant beyond anything dreamed of in the Western world. And when they expressed a conjecture about the mysteries of life, they were wont to add, from the bottom of their hearts, "But this is not after all exactly the way it really is." So one may turn to India to escape the confident dogmatism and literalness of European tradition.

The *Rig-Veda* and other collections of hymns, psalms, and ritualistic directions, and the great epic, the *Mahabharata*, filling many printed volumes, tell, in mythical fashion, of the invasion of India by the Aryas. Embedded in the vast *Mahabharata* is the famous (but much later) *Bhagavad Gita*, a treatise on salvation through selflessness, and escape from the false seductions of life. These books, together with endless commentaries on the Vedas (Upanishads), constitute the chief parts of the voluminous holy scriptures of the Hindus. It is a literary jungle into which European scholars began to penetrate in the nineteenth century when they learned Sanskrit, the ancient Indo-European language in which these are composed. Some part of this literature has been done into English and other European tongues and underlies the theosophical lore of the West.

The Aryas were the ancestors of the modern Hindus and akin in language to most of the peoples of Europe. The date when they moved down from Persia and the north into India, and when their ancient literature was composed, no one knows; according to their legends it was some five thousand years ago. These fair Northern invaders found a dark-skinned race, whom they scorned and reduced to servitude. These aboriginal "Dravidian" peoples form the earliest known stratum of the Indian population.[1] They still occupy southern India, numbering some fifty-five millions and speaking tongues entirely alien to those of the Hindus.

[1] Some anthropologists conjecture that the wild tribes of central India, such as the Bhils and Gonds, numbering about eleven millions, are the oldest kind of inhabitants.

There arose among the Hindus a great prophet, Gautama, the Buddha or "enlightened." He was a contemporary of Confucius, the revered teacher of the Chinese; his life overlapped that of Æschylus, the first great tragic poet of Greece, and it was but a few years after his death (483? B.C.) that Nehemiah became the restorer of Jerusalem and of the Jewish religion. Buddha's teachings were derived more or less from earlier speculations in regard to life and salvation. All things are transitory, even the gods must come to an end; in its very nature being is misery; and the soul is an illusion. These are the fundamental truths which the followers of Buddha strive to master as the fixed and necessary nature of being. To be saved, one must see things as they are; greed, lust, and hate, that is, *desire* in all its forms, underlies misery. Ways must be found to quench desire and reach an ideal state, *Nirvana*, which seems to be philosophic calm, the peace that passeth understanding, the merging of self in the infinite—a condition which to strenuous Western observers borders upon sheer annihilation. In this way one may be perfected and finally escape from the cycle of rebirths and consequently from renewed misery. Gentleness, toleration, love for one's fellows, and an ardent missionary impulse are conspicuous in Buddhism.[1]

A few decades after Alexander the Great added the banks of the Indus to his huge empire, the most famous of ancient Indian rulers, Asoka (264–228 B.C.), became disgusted with war and violence and dedicated his later years to the peaceful spread of Buddhism. He set forth in public places the rules of righteous conduct where all might see them.[2] A number of

[1] See Mrs. Rhys Davids's *Buddhism* (Home University Library) and *Buddhism in Translations*, by H. C. Warren (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. III), for a sympathetic presentation of the earliest form of Buddha's teachings as they are preserved in Burma and Ceylon today. The beliefs and practices of the great majority of Buddhists are at the present time alien in many respects to the teachings of their prophet.

[2] Asoka's missionaries were to associate with all manner of men, the proud Brahmans and the despised outcast alike.

these most interesting inscriptions have been unearthed recently in various parts of India and throw much light on the earlier aspirations of Buddhism. In spite of the work of this Buddhist Constantine and his successors, the religion of Gautama was destined after a few centuries to disappear from India (except in Burma), as Christianity disappeared from Syria. The Buddhist doctrines, with their concomitant culture, were, however, carried (with every kind of modification, compromise, and distortion) into Tibet, China, and Japan. There are at least three hundred and fifty million human beings who revere the Buddha's name today, and no other religion can claim so many followers.

The prevailing religion in India came to be Brahminism, a mixture of the older notions of the Aryas and the innovations of Gautama. Its chief characteristics are the recognition of innumerable gods; the acknowledged supremacy of the priestly Brahmans (Brahmins) and adhesion to every kind of superstitious rule regarding the social relations and personal contacts of the several "castes"; and the worship of the cow, including even a respect for its honorable dung.

Of the castes, that of the Brahmans is the highest; it claims the monopoly of all holy rites, it furnishes the scholars, poets, and lawgivers, and it demands the unconditioned reverence of all other castes. Water in which a Brahman has dipped his toe gains for the humble a celestial quality. There are all kinds of Brahmans, proud and insolent, gentle and meditative. Next to them are the Rajputs, or warriors; then the Vaisyas, the peasants and merchants. Lowest of all are the Pariahs, who are not regarded as worthy to belong to any caste but are outcasts from society, scorned by all, even their degraded selves. Familiar association between the castes is deemed sinful, and the distance which must be maintained in order to avoid uncleanness and necessitate purification is established by rule. The various castes are forbidden to intermarry, and no one can escape the group into which he happens to be born. The sys-

tem is very complicated and subject to many variations and violations. But this brief description gives some idea of its fundamental character.

In addition to the Hindus, in all their bewildering variety and admixtures, there are millions of Mohammed's followers in India. This is the result of repeated invasions through the northwestern passes by Afghans, Persians, Turks, and Mongols, who aspired to gain an overlordship in India. During the rapid expansion of Islam a few decades after Mohammed's death efforts were made by the Mohammedans to win India as they won Spain, but the Hindus combined to drive out the invader. Then began incursions on the part of the restless Mongol peoples, who were harassing eastern Europe. These had been converted to Mohammedanism, as we have seen. The famous Tamerlane (Timur) invaded India in 1398. The chief result of this brief occupation was that it suggested to a descendant of his, Baber (d. 1530), a renewed and this time successful attack on India. In this way the so-called Mogul empire was established. Its bounds, at first limited to portions of northern India, were greatly increased by one of Baber's successors, Akbar, in the days of Queen Elizabeth. This extraordinary ruler strove to bring about a great religious compromise which might reconcile Hindus and Mohammedans. He himself married a Hindu wife from the military caste of the Rajputs, and promulgated a faith which he hoped would be accepted by everyone as containing the essentials of all religions. Like Elizabeth, his contemporary, he deemed a state religion necessary, and he put himself at the head of it. Each morning he worshiped the sun in public as the symbol of the soul of light that animates the universe.

Akbar's son Jahangir (1605–1627) was the first Great Mogul with whom the English India Company had dealings. His son, Shah Jahan, founded the modern city of Delhi, erected the famous peacock throne, and built the lovely Taj Mahal, where

he and his favorite wife are buried. His son, Aurungzeb, during a long reign from 1658 to 1707, extended his rule, by foul means and fair, over a great part of India. After him the Mongol emperors were without exception feeble folk with commonly short and meaningless reigns down to the year 1857, when the British put an end to the dynasty of Baber and became more powerful than he or any of his successors had been.

The significance of all this is that a great number of the rulers of India today are Mohammedans, and over sixty millions of its people are faithful to Islam. The adherents of Hinduism are, however, reckoned at well over two hundred million. The Buddhists outside of Burma are negligible. Of Christians there are some three million over against some nine million who still bow down to wood and stone, in a primitive fashion antedating the refinements of Hindus, Buddhists, Musselmans, and Christians.

This "India," which has no native name nor any common tongue except a sort of *lingua franca* encouraged by the British in the nineteenth century,[1] and rival religions from the most primitive to the most sophisticated, was destined to come under the rule of new invaders from an island lying ten thousand miles away in the Atlantic Ocean. There is no stranger story than that of the British in India.

Struggle of the British and French for India

Originally the English had no idea of conquering any part of Hindustan. They did no more than establish agencies, or "factories." These were trading settlements where one would find a warehouse in which were stored the goods brought from England for sale in India and the Indian commodities which the native merchants, or the Englishmen who penetrated into

[1] This vernacular of trade takes two forms: *Hindustani*, in which many Sanskrit words are incorporated to suit the taste of the Hindus, and *Urdu*, which is loaded with Persian and some Arabic words to suit the Mohammedans. Both are based on the language used in Delhi and the neighboring region.

the interior, collected to be shipped to England. Around the warehouse were the houses of the agents of the East India Company, built in a fashion more suited to European customs than were the native dwellings. Sometimes the entire settlement was surrounded by fortifications, especially after it was found that the richly stocked warehouses might be sacked by native marauders. About 1640 the English established a factory at Hugli, near the mouths of the Ganges in Bengal, one of the richest of the Indian provinces.[1] About the same time they built Fort St. George at Madras, nearly a thousand miles down the coast, on the first land actually acquired by them.

The Dutch, not the French, were at first the most serious rivals of the English merchants in the "East Indies." The Dutch claimed exclusive rights to the particularly precious islands of Banda and Amboina, where the rarest spices grew,—nutmeg, mace, and cloves,—and for a time they seemed to have the advantage. They owned more than half the merchant ships of Europe, and consequently Rotterdam and Amsterdam enjoyed a great part of the profits which resulted from carrying goods to the East and then returning to supply England and the ports of the Continent with the spices, precious stones, ivory, and rich fabrics of the Orient.

Oliver Cromwell tried to reduce the Dutch trade and encourage English shipping by the Navigation Act, which Parliament passed in 1651. This provided that only English vessels should be permitted to bring to England commodities produced in Asia, Africa, or America. The result was a short, brisk commercial war between the Dutch and the English, fought at sea, in which sometimes one fleet, sometimes the other, gained the upper hand. This conflict is notable as the first modern example of a distinctly commercial struggle. Nations were beginning to go to war over trade as well as over land and religion.

On the restoration of Charles II in 1660 the English, after almost twenty years of civil war and disorder, were ready to

[1] This station was later transferred to Calcutta, a few miles away.

devote themselves more seriously to defending and extending their foreign trade and their colonies in the East and the West. The king granted a new charter to the East India Company which gave it a monopoly of the trade, with the right to coin money, to administer justice, to punish independent English merchants who sailed ships into Eastern waters on their own account, and, finally, to wage war and make peace with non-Christian states. Cromwell's Navigation Act was reënforced by additional provisions to the effect that not only must the ships be owned and manned by Englishmen, but they must be English-*built* as well. Charles II also dispatched troops to the Company's settlements to help in defending them against attacks of other Europeans and natives. He also turned over to the Company the town of Bombay, which his Portuguese wife had brought him as her dowry. This soon (1685) became the headquarters of the Company (instead of Surat) and is now the second greatest emporium of Indian trade.

The war with Holland, begun under Cromwell, was renewed under Charles II. The two nations were very evenly matched on the sea; but in 1664 the English succeeded in seizing some of the West Indian islands from the Dutch, as well as their colony upon Manhattan Island, which was renamed "New York" in honor of the king's brother, the Duke of York. On the other hand, the Dutch expelled the English from their last foothold in the Spice Islands (1667).

After some further hostilities the Dutch joined the English against the menacing power of Louis XIV, and in 1688 permitted their stadholder to occupy the vacant English throne. Their strength had, however, been exhausted in the long wars with Louis XIV, and they gave up the attempt to oppose England in India. Yet, although they no longer dominated the seas as they had done earlier, the Dutch still held important possessions and enjoyed a flourishing trade at the opening of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless their advance was checked, and it was not they but the French who were now to

engage the British in a momentous struggle to decide which was to gain control of India and North America.[1]

The ambitions of Louis XIV had not been confined to punishing the Dutch, making annexations at the expense of his neighbors, and assuring the Spanish throne to his grandson. In 1664, under the influence of Colbert, the king chartered the French East India Company, granting it a monopoly of trade for fifty years and the right to cast cannon, to raise troops, to garrison posts, and to declare war and make peace in the name of their sovereign. The king also assisted the company with large grants from the royal treasury.

In 1669 the first French expedition under the new company arrived at Surat, where they established a factory alongside those of the English and Portuguese, from which they sent out their agents in every direction. Three years later the French became the rivals of the English in Bengal by fortifying themselves at Chandernagore, just north of Calcutta. They also purchased from the ruler of the Carnatic, on the eastern shores of the Deccan, a plot of ground of about one hundred and thirteen acres, upon which was the village of Pondicherry, destined to be the capital of the French dominions in India.

Not long before his death in 1707 the last Great Mogul, Aurungzeb, wrote to a friend lamenting that his power had brought him only sorrow and dread or retribution for his evil deeds. He is very old and about to die, and his followers are helpless and frightened. "Restless as quicksilver, separated from their lord, they know not whether they have a master or not." And the dying Mogul was quite right. All extensive empires in India have been precarious and superficial, for it is the normal condition of that vast land, so varied by nature and tradition, to be divided up into many states and tribes. Accordingly,

[1] In spite of the severe losses growing out of the Napoleonic wars the Dutch now hold Java, Sumatra, Celebes, the Molucca Islands, portions of Borneo, and other islands in the East, comprising an area of over seven hundred thousand square miles with a population of some thirty-six millions.

after the powerful hand of Aurungzeb was withdrawn his empire fell apart in much the same way—as Macaulay points out—as did that of Charlemagne. Like the counts and dukes of the Carolingian period, the Mogul's officials, the subahdars and the nawabs (nabobs) and the rajahs (that is, the Hindu princes temporarily subjugated by the Mongols), gradually got the power in their respective districts into their own hands. Although the emperor, or Great Mogul, as the English called him, continued to maintain himself in his capital of Delhi, he could no longer be said to rule the country at the opening of the eighteenth century, when the French and English were seriously beginning to turn their attention to his coasts.

The real situation in India had long been apparent to the French governors; and in 1741, when Dupleix, the most remarkable of them, received his appointment, he openly adopted the policy of establishing French power by allying himself with the native rulers and playing them off one against another. He strongly fortified the French capital, Pondicherry. He assumed princely titles granted him by the Great Mogul and introduced Oriental pomp into his processions and ceremonies. As he had but few soldiers, he enlisted great numbers of natives, a custom which was also quickly adopted on a large scale by the English. These native soldiers, whom the English called "sepoys," were taught to fight in the manner of the Europeans, and under the discipline of Western military rules soon developed into capable soldiers, especially when supported by some European officers and privates.

During the wars which were waged in Europe over the realms of Maria Theresa, the French and English East India companies were also fighting to extend their power. One question at issue was whether the French or the English candidate should become nawab of the Carnatic. Dupleix appeared at first to have the advantage over the British, but his magnificent plan of creating a vast French colonial empire in India was frustrated by an English commander of even greater genius

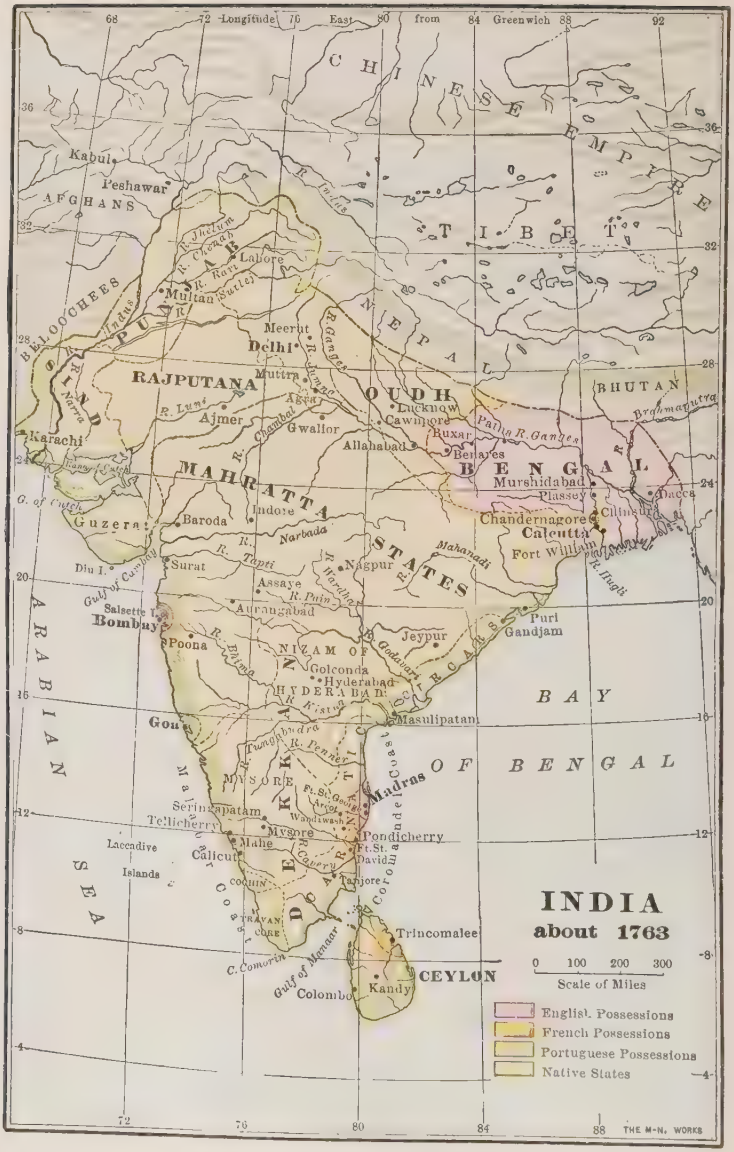
than his. This was Robert Clive, who had become a bookkeeper in the service of the English company at Madras in 1744. He had loved fighting from his boyhood days and had eagerly taken service in the army when hostilities with the French broke out. His skill in organizing the native troops was such that Dupleix was unable to maintain his reputation and was recalled to France in disgrace in 1754.

The final crisis in India came in 1756, when France, casting in her fortunes with Austria, was forced to wage war at the same time with Prussia on land and Great Britain on the sea. The French government dispatched Count Lally to India with a large force for the purpose of destroying the British settlements along the Madras coast. Though for a time successful, he was finally beaten and his fleet disorganized and driven away, so that the French land forces were not supported from the sea as were the British. Count Lally was hopelessly defeated at the decisive battle of Wandewash in 1760 and fell back to Pondicherry, where, blockaded by land and sea, he was compelled the next year to surrender the French capital in India. The dream cherished by Dupleix was dispelled: never again were the French seriously to menace the rising power of Great Britain in India.

The Treaty of Paris of 1763, which brought the Seven Years' War to a close, returned Pondicherry to France, as well as the other posts which she had held before Dupleix's territorial gains, but these posts were not to be fortified, and French troops could not be stationed in Bengal, the seat of the growing power of England. France ceased to be a rival in the contest for the possession of the peninsula, and the British were left free scope in the work of conquering and ruling India.

Founding of the British Power in India

While Clive was fighting the French, the forces of the British East India Company were extending their power in Bengal, a rich province on the lower Ganges. The Company fortified


Longitude East from Greenwich
CHINESE EMPIRE
TIBET
NEPAL
BHUTAN
AFGHANS
Kabul
Peshawar
Lahore
Multan
Meerut
Delhi
Muttra
Agra
Ajmer
Gwalior
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Allahabad
Buxar
Benares
Patna
R. Ganges
Brahmaputra
BELOOCHES
SIND
PUNJAB
RAJPUTANA
OUDH
BENGAL
Karachi
Murshidabad
Plassey
Dacca
Chandernagore
Calcutta
Fort William
Chinsura
MAHRATTA STATES
Guzerat
Baroda
Indore
Surat
Nagpur
Assaye
Aurungabad
Jeypur
Puri
Gandjam
Bombay
Poona
NIZAM OF HYDERABAD
Golconda
Hyderabad
Masulipatam
BAY OF BENGAL
ARABIAN SEA
Goa
MYSORE
Madras
Seringapatam
Mysore
Pondicherry
Mahe
Calicut
Tellicherry
Laccadive Islands
COCHIN
TRAVANCORE
Tanjore
Trincomalee
CEYLON
Kandy
Colombo
C. Comorin
Gulf of Manaar
Coromandel Coast
Malabar Coast
Concan
Deccan
INDIA
about 1763
0 100 200 300
Scale of Miles
English Possessions
French Possessions
Portuguese Possessions
Native States
THE M-N. WORKS

ENGLAND
FRANCE AND SPAIN
IN AMERICA
1750
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
Scale of Miles
THE M-N. WORKS
Hudson Bay
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
UNEXPLORED
PACIFIC OCEAN
RUPERT'S LAND
HUDSON BAY
Lake Winnipeg
Saskatchewan R.
Nelson R.
Severn R.
Albany R.
Moose R.
Rupert R.
Gt. Whale R.
Gt. Slave L.
Lake of the Woods
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Rio Grande
Colorado R.
Columbia R.
CANADA
NEW FRANCE
St. Lawrence R.
Montreal
Quebec (1608)
Ticonderoga
Fort Royal (1608)
Cape Breton I.
Halifax
Boston
Plymouth
Providence
New York
Albany
Hartford
Detroit
Ft. Duquesne
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Jamestown (1607)
Wilmington
Bermuda Is.
Wincennes
Kaskaskia
LOUISIANA
Santa Fe (1598)
Charleston
Savannah (1733)
Pensacola
New Orleans (1718)
St. Augustine (1565)
Bahamas
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Tropic of Cancer
Habana
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
St. Domingo
PORTO RICO
BELIZE
GUATEMALA
CARIBBEAN SEA
NEW SPAIN
Mexico
SOUTH AMERICA
Equator
PERU

the posts they already held and so gave offense to the nawab, Surajah Dowlah, whose capital was about a hundred miles north of Calcutta. He let his officials shut up a hundred and forty-five of the British in a little room eighteen feet square, the "Black Hole of Calcutta," and a great part of them had perished when morning came. Clive was summoned, and he defeated the nawab in the battle of Plassey (1757), with nine hundred British soldiers and two thousand sepoys pitted against a force of nearly fifty thousand. Surajah Dowlah was deposed and murdered. The British nominated his immediate successors, who, however, proved refractory; the Great Mogul himself intervened, but was defeated by the British and captured. The Company forced him to grant it the right to manage his revenues in Bengal, and although the nawab was permitted to keep his title, the East India Company became practically ruler of a vast and important portion of India.[1]

Vast fortunes were accumulated rapidly through corruption and by exploiting the defenseless natives; penniless young men who had gone out in the service of the Company returned to England in ten or twelve years in the possession of such wealth as to excite the astonishment of the English people at home.[2] Clive himself was poor when he first entered the employ of the East India Company, but at the age of thirty-four he enjoyed an income of forty thousand pounds a year and yet he thought he had shown great self-control in grafting. He frankly declared that graft was contagious in India, and that

[1] Thus by a series of unexpected events, a trading company was transformed into a great governing body supporting thousands of soldiers, waging war, making treaties, acquiring territory, administering a portion of the Great Mogul's finances, and enjoying immense revenues from taxes and trading monopolies. Exceptional advantages for enriching themselves were now offered to the agents of the Company in India because the directors, ten thousand miles away, could exercise very little control over officials, traders, and agents in a strange land, with no strong government to prevent the continued aggressions of the foreign intruders.

[2] Those who returned from India to spend their ill-gotten gains in London were popularly known as "nabobs." They often figure in Thackeray's novels.

it had spread among the civil and military employees of the East India Company down to the lowest rank.

Strange as it may seem, in spite of its trading monopoly the East India Company was heavily in debt and was confronted by difficult problems in managing its huge political and military enterprise. This state of affairs, coupled with the conduct of the Company's agents in India and the news of a terrible famine in Bengal in 1770, called the attention of the British government to the necessity of exercising a stricter supervision over the enterprises of British merchants in India. Parliament thereupon vested the control of Bombay and Madras in the hands of a governor and four councilors in Bengal, to be appointed by Parliament in the first instance, and by the directors of the East India Company thereafter, but always subject to the approval of the crown. Moreover, all reports sent to London by the Company's agents were to be open to inspection by the British government.

The English possessions were surrounded by the domains of native rulers, great and small, who had ordinarily risen to power through military prowess and were liable to sudden and violent overthrow. The peninsula was thus kept in a constant state of turmoil, and there could be no hope of peace until some one power controlled the petty rulers. Warren Hastings became governor-general of India in 1774. Serious accusations of cruelty and misgovernment were brought against him; and on his return to England in 1788 he was impeached by the House of Commons, the charges being presented in a long speech by the celebrated orator Burke.[1] This famous trial dragged on for seven years and finally ended in the acquittal of Hastings.

The extensive wars in which the Company was engaged during Hastings's administration led Parliament in 1784 to assume

[1] Later writers defend Hastings against the charges advanced by Burke, and seem to agree that only his heroic measures could have saved India for the British.

a more direct management of Indian affairs. A board appointed by the king was to reside in England, supervise the civil, military, and financial transactions of the Company, and examine their accounts and reports. In matters pertaining to the expenditure of revenue, to diplomacy, peace, and war, power was vested in the governor-general and three advisers appointed by the Company with the king's approval and liable to be dismissed by him at will. This meant that the highest authority in India was thereafter to be in the hands of officials whose choice was practically determined by Parliament.[1]

Although, in assuming control of the political affairs of the Company, Parliament distinctly repudiated any intention of making further conquests in India, the governor-generals who were sent out found themselves irresistibly drawn into wars by the restlessness of native rulers whose domains bordered on the British possessions. By 1805 the British dominion had been extended far up the Ganges valley, southward along the eastern coast, and over a great portion of the southern end of the peninsula (see Chapter XXXIII, below).

British and French in North America

While the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French merchants and trading companies were occupied in the East Indies establishing trading posts, fighting one another, and gradually conquering territory in distant lands, the New World on the other side of the globe was not neglected. It too was ultimately to exercise a great influence in European affairs. The history of North America is, however, more or less familiar to most readers of this volume, and so it is unnecessary here to review the story of European discoveries and the planting of colonies.

[1] The first of the governors under the new arrangement was Lord Cornwallis, who retrieved in India the reputation he had lost in the conflict with the American colonies. The third governor-general, Lord Wellesley, with the assistance of his more famous brother, later Duke of Wellington, steadily annexed additional territories whose rulers had disturbed the English rule.

Only the general course of events need be reviewed in order to bring it into relation with the contemporaneous events in Europe and India.

If one consults a map of the New World as it appeared in 1750, he will find that the claims of the various states across the Atlantic were as follows: France held in addition to New France (Canada) the vast territory of Louisiana, extending from the Alleghenies to the Rocky Mountains and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. This was defended by scattered forts, extending from New Orleans (founded by the French Mississippi Company in 1718) to Montreal. The English Hudson Bay Company claimed the great ill-explored region, frequented by adventurous trappers, which lay to the north of New France. British colonies occupied all the Atlantic coast from Newfoundland to a point south of Savannah. The British had settlements besides in the Bahamas, Jamaica, and Belize (British Honduras). She had also, like France, colonized a portion of Guiana on the coast of South America, but this she ceded to the Dutch in 1667 in exchange for New Amsterdam and their other North American possessions. In general, however, all the region to the south of Santa Fe and St. Augustine, including Mexico, Florida, Central America, the West Indies, and all South America except Guiana and Brazil (which was Portuguese), belonged to the Spanish crown. All the outlying regions, such as the northwestern parts of North America, the interior of Brazil, and the southern part of South America, were little known or entirely unexplored by Europeans.

In the final struggle which was approaching between France and England for the possession of North America, the French found themselves at a great disadvantage. Their claims included an immense territory upon which, in the nature of things, they could have only a very precarious hold. The exhausting wars of Louis XIV affected the colonies by checking immigration and preventing their proper financial support by

the home government. The Huguenots, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, would gladly have found homes in the New World and built up the French power as the Puritans had the English. But New France and Louisiana had been explored by the Jesuits, and both the home government and the priests scattered about North America stoutly opposed the coming of the heretical Huguenots, who were therefore forced to flee to Protestant countries.

The French who came to America were, in general, too engrossed in the fur trade, in exploring, in converting the Indians to Christianity, or in fighting the English colonists to form strong settled communities. They were not permitted to govern themselves when they did collect in settlements, but were carefully watched by the officials of a king who forbade them to trade with anyone except Frenchmen and Indians. As a result of these conditions the scattered French population of North America was less than a hundred thousand souls when the war broke out with Great Britain in 1754.

The situation of the British colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia was quite different. They varied greatly, it is true, in population, religion, trade, and industry, but they had much in common and could combine far more easily than the French. Four fifths of the British lived within a short distance of the seacoast and were consequently in ready communication with the mother country, compared with a Frenchman in Detroit or Kaskaskia, or even in New Orleans. Each of the colonies had its own government and its representative assembly, which voted taxes and passed laws subject to the approval of the British king.

Moreover, the British settlers were, for the most part, seeking permanent homes for themselves and their families; there were few mere traders, trappers, missionaries, wandering adventurers. In spite of the rule made by Parliament that they must trade only with Great Britain, industry and commerce increased, for it was always possible to evade the navigation

laws, which were not strictly enforced. The population of the British colonies increased very rapidly. By the close of the War of the Spanish Succession there must have been toward half a million, and by 1750 this number had almost trebled. A great part of the colonists at this latter date had been born in America, but they were still loyal to their mother country and were now able to vote money, men, and ships to aid her in her wars.

Just before the Seven Years' War began in 1756, the French and English had begun their struggle in America. The so-called French and Indian War broke out in 1754 between the English and French colonists. General Braddock was sent from England to capture Fort Duquesne, which the French had established to keep their rivals out of the Ohio valley. Braddock knew nothing of border warfare, and he was killed and his troops routed. Fortunately for Great Britain, France, as an ally of Austria, was soon engaged in a war with Prussia that prevented her from giving proper attention to her American possessions. A famous statesman, the elder Pitt, then at the head of the British ministry, was able not only to succor the hard-pressed king of Prussia with money and men but also to support the militia of the thirteen American colonies in their attacks upon the French. The French forts at Ticonderoga and Niagara were taken, Quebec was won in Wolfe's heroic attack (1759), and the next year all Canada submitted to the British, whose supremacy on the sea was demonstrated by three admirals, each of whom destroyed a French fleet.

In the Peace of Paris (1763), which brought the Seven Years' War to a close, France gave up all her territory in North America. That to the east of the Mississippi she ceded to Great Britain; that to the west of the river, including the city of New Orleans, she gave to her ally Spain. Spain, on her part, ceded Florida to Great Britain on condition that Great Britain would restore to her Havana and Manila, both of which the British had captured. In this way Great Britain got possession

of practically all that part of North America which had as yet been explored and developed, with the exception, of course, of Mexico. While Spain's territory was greatly augmented by Louisiana, she was not in a position to colonize the region, which, so to speak, lay fallow until, forty years later, it was purchased by the United States.

How Great Britain lost her American Colonies

Great Britain had, however, no sooner added Canada to her possessions and driven the French from the vast territory which lay between her dominions and the Mississippi than she lost the better part of her American empire by the revolt of the irritated colonists, who refused to submit to her interference in their government and commerce.

The British settlers had been left alone, for the most part, by the home government and had enjoyed far greater freedom in the management of their affairs than had the French and Spanish colonists. Virginia established its own assembly in 1619, and Massachusetts became almost an independent commonwealth. Methods of self-government developed, which were later used as the basis for the constitutions of the several states when the colonies gained their independence. By the end of the Seven Years' War the colonists numbered over two millions. Their rapidly increasing wealth and strength, their free life in a new land, the confidence they had gained in their successful conflict with the French, all combined to render interference of the home government intolerable to them.

Great Britain, as has been mentioned, had, like Spain, France, and other colonizing countries, enacted a number of navigation and trade laws by which she tried to keep all the benefits of colonial trade and industry to herself. The early navigation laws passed under Cromwell and Charles II were specially directed against the enterprising Dutch traders. They provided that all products grown or manufactured in Asia,

Africa, or America should be imported into England or her colonies only in British ships. Thus, if a Dutch merchant vessel laden with cloves, cinnamon, teas, and silks from the Far East anchored in the harbor of New York, the inhabitants could not lawfully buy of the ship's master, no matter how much lower his prices were than those offered by British shippers. Furthermore, another act provided that no commodity of European production or manufacture should be imported into any of the colonies without being shipped through England and carried in ships built in England or the colonies. So if a colonial merchant wished to buy French wines or Dutch watches, he would have to order through English merchants. Again, if a colonist desired to sell to a European merchant such products as the law permitted him to sell to foreigners, he had to export them in British ships and even send them by way of England.

Certain articles in which the colonists were interested, such as sugar, tobacco, and cotton, could be sold only in England. Other things they were forbidden to export at all, or even to produce. For instance, though they possessed the best furs in abundance, they could not export any caps or hats to England or to any foreign country. The colonists had built up a lucrative lumber and provision trade with the French West Indies, from which they imported large quantities of sugar, molasses, and rum—not considered sinful in those days. But to keep this trade within British dominions the importation of these commodities was forbidden.

The colonists naturally evaded these laws as far as possible; they carried on a flourishing foreign trade and built up industries in spite of them. Tobacco, sugar, hemp, flax, and cotton were grown, cloth was manufactured, and iron-foundries were established. It is clear that where so many people were interested in trade and manufacturing a loud protest was sure to be raised against the attempts of Great Britain to restrict the business of the colonists in favor of her own merchants.

Before 1763 the navigation and trade laws had been loosely enforced, and business men of social standing ventured to neglect them and engage in technically illegal commerce, which, from the standpoint of the mother country, constituted "smuggling."

With the close of the successful Seven Years' War and the conquest of Canada and the Ohio valley, arrangements had to be made to protect the new territories and meet the expenses incident to the great enlargement of the British Empire. The home government naturally argued that the prosperous colonists ought to help to pay the debt incurred in the late war and contribute toward the maintenance of a small body of troops for guarding the new possessions.

This led to the passage of the Stamp Act, which taxed the colonists by requiring them to pay the British government for the stamps which had to be used on leases, deeds, and other legal documents in order to make them valid. This act stirred up orators among the colonists, like Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry, who declared that they had already borne the brunt of the recent war and that Parliament had no right to tax them since they were not represented directly in that body. Such representation, they said, was impossible, because London was so far away. Therefore, so ran their argument, the American colonists could be taxed only by their own assemblies. Whatever may have been the merits of their contention, representatives of the colonies met in New York in 1765 and denounced the Stamp Act as indicating "a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists."

The unpopular stamp tax was repealed, in spite of the views of King George III, who, with some of the Tory party in Parliament, thought that the colonists should be punished rather than conciliated. Many of the Whigs were very friendly to them; and a proposal was made that the colonists tax themselves to help the British treasury, but Benjamin Franklin, then in England, honestly confessed that they would not do so.

Parliament then decided to raise a certain amount by duties on glass, paper, and tea, and a board was established to secure a stricter enforcement of the old and hitherto largely neglected navigation laws and other restrictions. The protests of the colonists had their effect, however, on the British statesmen and led Parliament to remove all the duties except that on tea. This was retained, owing to the active lobbying of the East India Company, whose interests were at stake.

The effort to make the Americans pay a very moderate duty on tea and to force upon the Boston markets the Company's tea at a very low price produced trouble in 1773. Those who had supplies of "smuggled" tea to dispose of and who were likely to be undersold, even after the small duty which had been imposed was paid, raised a new cry of illegal taxation, and a band of young men in Boston boarded a tea ship in the harbor and threw the cargo into the water. This so-called Boston Tea Party served to emphasize the business issues between the colonies and the mother country.

A considerable body in Parliament were opposed to coercing the colonists. Burke, perhaps the most able member of the House of Commons, urged the ministry to leave the Americans free to tax themselves, but George III and the Tory party in Parliament could not forgive the colonists for their opposition. They believed that the trouble was largely confined to New England and could easily be overcome. In 1774 acts were passed prohibiting the landing and shipping of goods at Boston; and the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its former right to choose its judges and the members of the upper house of its legislature, who were thereafter to be selected by the king.

These measures, instead of bringing Massachusetts to terms, so roused the apprehension of the rest of the colonists that a congress of representatives from all the colonies was held at Philadelphia in 1774 to see what could be done. This congress decided that all trade with Great Britain should cease until

the grievances of the colonies had been redressed. The following year American volunteers engaged in a skirmish with British troops at Lexington and, later, made a brave stand against them in the battle of Bunker Hill. The second congress decided to prepare for war and raised an army, which was put under the command of George Washington, a Virginia planter who had gained distinction in the late French and Indian War.

Up to this time few people had openly advocated the separation of the colonies from the mother country; but the proposed compromises came to nothing, and in July, 1776, Congress declared that "these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent."

The party that favored independence was at first certainly a minority of the population. The so-called "Tories," who opposed separation from Great Britain, were perhaps as numerous as the "patriots," who advocated the American Revolution, and at least one third of the colonists appear to have been indifferent.

The Declaration of Independence naturally excited great interest in France. The outcome of the Seven Years' War had been most lamentable for that country, and any trouble which came to her old enemy, Great Britain, could not but be a source of congratulation to the French. The United States therefore regarded France as a natural ally and immediately sent Benjamin Franklin to Versailles in the hope of obtaining the aid of the new French king, Louis XVI. The king's ministers were uncertain whether the colonies could long maintain their resistance against the overwhelming strength of the mother country. And was it not to be expected that a Bourbon king would readily support rebels against their dread lord? Louis XVI heartily disliked Franklin and the republican enthusiasm he aroused; nevertheless the French government decided to lend aid secretly with the object of embarrassing Great Britain.

It was only after the Americans had defeated Burgoyne at Saratoga that France, in 1778, concluded a treaty with the

United States in which the independence of the new republic was recognized. This was equivalent to declaring war upon Great Britain. The French government aided the colonies with loans; and enthusiasm for the Americans was so great in France that a number of the younger nobles, the most conspicuous of whom was the Marquis of La Fayette, crossed the Atlantic to fight as volunteers in the American army.

There was so much difference of opinion in England in regard to the expediency of the war and so much sympathy in Parliament for the colonists that the military operations were not carried on with much vigor. Nevertheless the Americans found it no easy task to win the war. In spite of the skill and heroic self-sacrifice of Washington, they lost more battles than they gained. It is extremely doubtful whether they would have succeeded in bringing the war to a favorable close, by forcing the English general, Cornwallis, to capitulate at Yorktown (1781), had it not been for the aid of the French fleet. The chief result of the war was the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the United States, whose territory was to extend to the Mississippi River. To the west of the Mississippi the vast territory of Louisiana still remained in the hands of Spain, as well as Florida, which Great Britain had held since 1763 but now gave back.

Spain and Portugal were able to hold their American possessions a generation longer than the British, but in the end practically all the Western Hemisphere, with the exception of Canada, completely freed itself from the control of the European powers. Cuba, one of the very last vestiges of Spanish rule in the West, gained its independence with the aid of the United States in 1898.

While casting off British rule the Americans established governments of their own. Rhode Island and Connecticut slightly changed the charters they had received from the king and went on their way as free states. In each of the other states a new written constitution was adopted. A loose union was then

formed under the Articles of Confederation, duly proclaimed in 1781. Finding the Articles unsatisfactory in many ways, the Americans drafted a new plan of union—the Constitution of the United States—which went into effect in 1789 with the inauguration of Washington as president.

The example of a people forming a government without kings and hereditary aristocracies was highly instructive to European thinkers. French noblemen, like La Fayette, who had served in the American army, took back with them enthusiastic stories of the great popular experiment. Our state constitutions were translated into French and widely circulated in Europe. The Declaration of Independence was a trumpet call to the oppressed of the earth. Frenchmen who opposed the absolutism of the Bourbons, and Englishmen who demanded for all men the right to vote for members of the House of Commons, took courage from the American achievement. Some observers already realized that European countries would henceforth have to reckon with the new republic beyond the seas. But no one could foresee that the United States was one day destined actually to overshadow Europe financially.

CHAPTER XXIV

QUESTIONING OF AUTHORITY—HEAVENLY AND EARTHLY

Settled Beliefs versus Inquiry

Mankind has always had leaders, individuals of exceptional imagination, ambition, boldness, energy, and persistence. Some of these chieftains have organized armies, led them to victory, built up dominions, issued decrees, and devised means of raising revenue to meet the cost of their expensive enterprises. If strikingly successful in their ventures their names are handed down as popular heroes and their deeds find their way into the history books. And if one is asked to mention the great men of the past he is apt to think of Alexander the Great, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Cromwell, Napoleon,—conspicuous military leaders and statesmen.

There has always been, however, another class of chieftains who proved themselves able sooner or later to collect their obedient host of followers. They did not resort to arms, they killed no one, and they extorted no taxes from their subjects. They wore no coronets and held their courts in market place, classroom, or tavern. They were poor and commonly despised in their own day by all except their few friends and admirers, who usually only half understood them. But they had their own rewards; they patiently pursued new ideas and confronted them with knightly valor, however strange and disconcerting they might be. They were, in the world of thought, as bold as any general or explorer. After vanquishing their own minds they might seek to conquer those of their fellow men. This is well expressed in a Buddhist manual referring to the fearful truth of the impermanence of all things:

It remains a fact and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its constituents are transitory. This fact a Buddha [that is, one supremely enlightened] discovers and masters, and when he has discovered and mastered it, he announces, teaches, publishes, proclaims, discloses, minutely explains, and makes it clear, that all the constituents of being are transitory.

Socrates urged us to know ourselves; Jesus, to love our neighbor as ourselves. These are all hard sayings, but all of them have been handed down through the ages as commands to the prophets' followers.

And who would venture to maintain that our life today—our daily conduct and hopes and fears, our ideals and aspirations, and our knowledge of ourselves and our world—has not been created and fashioned by the humble religious seers, the poets, and the laborious men of science rather than by the military chieftains and statesmen? If we are wise we shall reckon with the armed conquerors and the unarmed! Both have had their part in making humanity what it is. Out of the infinite turmoil of aggression and destruction peace and order has sometimes emerged; and even in the very midst of insistent wars a Euripides or a Montaigne has gone on with his thinking and writing.

Man shares the earth with hundreds of thousands of different kinds of creatures all of which are fitted to live for a time and perpetuate their species, often almost unchanged, for thousands or millions of years. All animals can learn something during their lifetime, but not much and only incidentally.[1] With man it is clear that what is discovered in one generation will be fairly sure to have a deep effect on its descendants. Man alone can seek to find out about himself and his world. His early discoveries were probably as accidental and incidental as those of his fellow animals. For a very long time he did not *seek* knowledge, but just happened on it in the struggles of life or as a result of idle fumbling.

[1] How far any individual experience can hereditarily affect succeeding generations is still an unsettled question for the biologist.

When exceptional men first consciously and of aforethought *sought* for new information, we do not know. There are some indications that the search for truth began long before the days of the Greeks; but it is clear that about twenty-five hundred years ago Thales, Pythagoras, Zenophanes, and others in the Greek colonies became aware that a great deal might be discovered by careful thought and observation. Many thinkers arose among the Greeks; so many and so ingenious, that when Aristotle came to sum up what had been found out, including much that he himself had added, it formed an imposing and convincing body of information. When the Arabs and medieval Christians later took to study they agreed that Aristotle had *settled* a wide range of all-important matters. Averroës, the commentator of Córdoba, claimed that Aristotle had been "appointed by Providence to know everything that was to be known."

As we have seen (Vol. I, pp. 304 f.) the professors in the medieval universities based their teachings on "The Philosopher," as they called Aristotle, supplemented by the works of the Church Fathers. To these professors it seemed that many great questions had been answered once for all by the great authorities of the past, and that little remained except to interpret, expand, and reconcile the various statements of truth handed down to them. In short, their range of doubt and skepticism was limited both by their reverence for Aristotle and their confident belief that God, through his prophets and the decisions of his Church and its divinely appointed head, the Pope, had established truths about man's nature, history, duty, and fate which it was blasphemous to question.

In the fifteenth century, and even earlier, Aristotle began to lose his hold here and there, and there was a tendency to put Plato in his place. But the belief in the "truths of revealed religion" was far deeper and more persistent and continues to be accepted by the great body of Christians down to the present day. God's word, as interpreted by the clergy, is to

them final, and all suggestions of scientists and philosophers which seem to be opposed to it are for them not only untrue but wicked. The Greek thinkers were not much hampered by religious authority; they had no Bible, in our sense of the term, and there was no formulated opposition to "free thinking." So long as they avoided the anger of the mob, they could question the gods or anything else they chose. The early Christian emperors, however, stood by the "orthodox" in helping to seek out and punish those who dared to harbor divergent views of things heavenly; and in the thirteenth century the Holy Inquisition, backed by the rulers of the time, devised an elaborate organization for dealing with heretics (Vol. I, pp. 32 ff. and 243 ff.).

Nevertheless the questioning of old ideas and the discovery of new ones can be traced during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. With the sixteenth came the Protestant secession, with much discussion of the bitterest kind. A great part of this concerned religious matters, and the aim was not to add any new truth but to settle which of the various conflicting older beliefs should prevail. Was the Pope the head of the Church as Peter's successor? Did transubstantiation take place with the celebration of the Mass? What was the nature of penance? Were the clergy justified by faith or by works, or by both? Did the clergy receive "indelible characters" at ordination? These and like problems agitated both Roman Catholics and Protestants. A great part of the older dogmas remained unscathed. All believed in the Bible, the Garden of Eden, and the Tower of Babel, in sin and salvation, heaven and hell, and man's natural depravity due to the fall. Many more fundamental beliefs were left untouched than were called in question. This basic agreement between Roman Catholics and all kinds of Protestants is obscured by the violence of their dissensions.

It is necessary to recall these outstanding facts in the history of European thought in order to appreciate the extraordinary expansion of *questioning* in the seventeenth century. This be-

gan with doubts about the old ideas of nature, and later extended to the traditional conceptions of supernatural forces. Moreover, the agitations of the Stuart period, and the brief existence of a republic in England, opened the way for a lively discussion of government, its nature, origin, and best form. So it came about that during the seventeenth century English scientists, philosophers, religious critics, and political writers began to overhaul a wide range of long-accepted beliefs about both heavenly and earthly powers. They opened the era of scientific investigation and rapidly increasing knowledge in which we live. They often wrote with great vigor, usually deserting Latin, and relying upon their own virile native tongue, as the ancient Greeks had done.

Francis Bacon (1561–1626)

The great herald who sounded the reveille was Francis Bacon, who summoned men to awake from the lethargy of dogma and start a new day. He was not a scientist in the ordinary sense of the term, as were, for instance, his contemporaries and fellow countrymen William Gilbert and William Harvey, but he was marvelously fitted to extol, promote, and defend scientific research. His resources of style enabled him to put his single plea for truth-seeking into a multitude of ever-varying and effective forms. He preached science as an Augustine or a Bossuet preached religion. It was to him man's hope of salvation. In 1605 he published his *Advancement of Learning*, in which he told the story. In his later works, especially his famous *Organum*, he elaborates, rearranges, and restates his arguments; but anyone who will read *The Advancement of Learning*, a most astonishing work, will have the key to the seventeenth-century awakening. And now let Bacon himself speak:

> Antiquity deserveth that reverence that men should make a stand thereupon and discover what is the best way; but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression. And to speak

truly, *Antiquitas saeculi juventus mundi* [to wit, former days belong to the world's youth]. These times are the ancient times, when the world is ancient, and not those we account ancient, *ordine retrogrado*, by a computation backward from ourselves.

Another error . . . is the conceit that of former opinions after variety and examination the best hath still [that is, always] prevailed and suppressed the rest . . . as if the multitude, or the wisest for the multitude's sake, were not ready to give passage rather to that which is popular and superficial, than to that which is substantial and profound; for the truth is that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or stream which carrieth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is weighty and solid.

Another error hath proceeded from too great a reverence and a kind of adoration of the mind and understanding of man; by means whereof men have withdrawn themselves too much from the contemplation of nature and the observations of experience, and have tumbled up and down in their own reason and conceits. . . . For they disdain to spell, and so by degrees to read in the volume of God's works.

Another error is an impatience of doubt and haste to assertion without due and mature suspension of judgement. . . . If a man will begin with certainties, he shall end in doubts; but if he will be content to begin with doubts, he shall end in certainties.

Surely, like as many substances in nature which are solid do putrify and corrupt into worms; so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen [that is, the medieval professors]; who having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle, their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books.

For the wit of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures [that is, creations] of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh his web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit. . . .

It may be thought a strange and harsh thing that we should at once and with one blow set aside all sciences and all authors; and that too without calling in any of the ancients to our aid and support, but relying on our own strength. . . . But for my part, relying on the evidence and truth of things, I reject all forms of fiction and imposture; nor do I think it matters any more to the business at hand, whether the discoveries that shall now be made were long ago known to the ancients. . . . For new discoveries must be sought in the light of nature, not fetched back out of the darkness of antiquity.

In the *Novum Organum* Bacon picturesquely describes four kinds of idols before which men were wont blindly to bow: the idols of the *tribe*, of the *cave*, of the *market place*, and of the *theater*. When one once gets acquainted with this classification, he is often reminded of it as he listens to the loose, dogmatic talk of mankind. The idols of the tribe are the inherent weaknesses of human reasoning, "for what a man had rather were true he more readily believes. Therefore he rejects difficult things from impatience of research; sober things, because they narrow hope; the deeper things of nature from superstition; . . . things not commonly believed out of deference to the opinions of the vulgar." The idols of the cave (referring to the famous allegory in Plato's *Republic*) are the peculiarities of each individual. "For every one has a cave of his own which refracts and discolors the light of nature; owing either to his own peculiar and proper nature, or to his education and conversation with others; or to the reading of books, and the authority of those whom he esteems and admires." The idols of the market place are formed by our intercourse with others through language. Words have to be used according to

the apprehension of the run of people we meet; and "the ill and unfit choice of words wonderfully obstructs the understanding." The idols of the theater are various philosophical systems to which people pledge themselves. These seem to Bacon like stage plays, highly artficial and seeking dramatic completeness. "Nor," he says, "is it only of the systems now in vogue, or only of the ancient sects and philosophies that I speak; for many plays of the same kind may yet be composed."

The earnest seeker for truth must be humble, not "magisterial and peremptory." Moreover, he must not neglect things which in the eyes of the scholar and the world seem "mean and filthy," "for the sun enters the sewer no less than the palace, yet takes no pollution. . . . From mean and sordid instances there sometimes emanate excellent light and information." Fastidiousness in prescribing the range of research is "childish and effeminate." "For whatever deserves to exist deserves also to be known, for knowledge is the image of existence; and things mean and splendid exist alike."

Bacon foresaw the so-called conflict between science and religion, which was to endure down to our own day. He says:

> Neither is it to be forgotten that in every age Natural Philosophy [as natural science was long called] has had a troublesome adversary and hard to deal with, namely superstition and the blind and immoderate zeal of religion. . . . You will find that by the simpleness of certain divines access to any philosophy, however pure, is well nigh closed. Some are weakly afraid lest a deeper search into nature should transgress the permitted limits of sobermindedness; wrongfully wresting and transferring what is said in Holy Writ against those who pry into sacred mysteries, to the hidden things of nature. Others, with more subtlety, surmise and reflect that if second causes [that is, immediate causes] are unknown, everything can more readily be referred to the divine hand and rod; a point in which they think religion greatly concerned; which is in fact nothing else but to seek to gratify God with a lie. . . . And others again appear apprehensive that in the investigation of nature something may be found to subvert, or at least shake, the authority

of religion, especially with the unlearned. . . . But if the matter be truly considered, natural philosophy is, after the Word of God, at once the surest medicine against superstition and the most approved nourishment for faith, and therefore she is rightly given to religion as her most faithful handmaid, since the one displays the will of God, the other his power.

Late in life Bacon began his *New Atlantis*, which he left "unperfected." It is an account of an imaginary island state discovered in the Pacific by European mariners. There they found that the public funds were devoted not to war but to the pursuit of knowledge. The chief government institution was "The House of Solomon," containing a great variety of laboratories and all kinds of apparatus for scientific experiment. There was a museum with models of "all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions"; there were statues erected in honor of the great inventors and discoverers. This little book of Bacon's seems to have had a great deal of influence upon those who founded the Royal Society a generation after his death. It is a forecast of the great institutions for scientific research which exist today.

It seemed to Francis Bacon that the discoveries which had hitherto been made were as nothing compared with those that would be made if men would but study and experiment with things themselves. They should abandon their confidence in vague words, like "moist" and "dry," "matter" and "form," and repudiate altogether "the thorny philosophy" of Aristotle revered in the universities. He declares:

No one has yet been found so firm of mind and purpose as resolutely to compel himself to sweep away all theories and common notions, and apply the understanding, thus made fair and even, to a fresh examination of details. Thus it comes about that human knowledge is as yet a mere medley and ill-digested mass, made up of much credulity and much accident, and also of childish notions which we early have imbibed.

How Alchemy and Astrology grew into Chemistry and Astronomy

Bacon was not the first to have these ideas. He perhaps underrated the achievements of earlier centuries (especially those of the Greeks), but it is true that in the Middle Ages the scholars and learned men had been but little interested in the world about them. They devoted far more attention to metaphysics and dogmatic theology than to what we should call the natural sciences. They were satisfied in the main to get their knowledge of nature from reading the works of the ancients; above all, those of Aristotle.[1] Nevertheless, as early as the thirteenth century a very extraordinary Franciscan friar, Roger Bacon, showed his insight by protesting against the exaggerated veneration for books. He foresaw that a careful examination of the things about us, such as water, air, light, animals, and plants, would lead to important and useful discoveries which would greatly benefit mankind.[2]

Like Lord Bacon three centuries later, Friar Bacon advocated three methods of reaching truth which are now followed by all scientific men. In the first place, he proposed that natural objects and changes should be examined with great care, in order that the observer might determine exactly what happened in any given case. This has led in modern times to incredibly refined measurement and analysis. The chemist, for

[1] It may be noted that the men of the Renaissance, in renewing the interest in the literature of Greece, carried men's minds back to the writers and heroes of a distant past and so obscured the importance of the world about them. The Protestants did not claim to create a new theology, but to return once more to the old ways and teachings which had prevailed in the early Church. Therefore both these movements illustrate the conservative tendency of mankind and its inveterate respect for the past.

[2] He believed that huge vessels could be made to move at great speed without rowers, "that carriages can be constructed to move without animals to draw them, and with incredible velocity," that flying machines could be devised and suspension bridges be built. See Robinson, *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, p. 461.

example, can now determine the exact nature and amount of every substance in a cup of impure well water which may appear perfectly limpid to the casual observer. Then, secondly, Roger Bacon advocated experimentation. He was not content with mere observation of what actually happened, but tried new and artificial combinations and processes. Nowadays experimentation is, of course, constantly used by scientific investigators, and by means of it they ascertain many things which the most careful observation would never reveal. Thirdly, to carry on investigation and make careful measurements and experiments, he suspected that apparatus designed for this special purpose would be found necessary. As early as the thirteenth century it was discovered, for example, that a convex crystal or bit of glass would magnify objects, although several centuries elapsed before the microscope and the telescope were devised.

The progress of scientific discovery was hastened, strangely enough, by two grave misapprehensions: the belief in alchemy and the confidence in astrology, both of which had been handed down from the Greeks and Romans to the scholars and investigators of the Middle Ages. Modern chemistry developed from alchemy, and modern astronomy from astrology.

The alchemist carried on his experiments with the hope of finding a so-called "elixir," or philosopher's stone, which, if added to baser metals, like lead, mercury, or even silver, should transmute them into gold. It was also believed that the same marvelous elixir would, if taken in small quantities, restore youth to the aged and prolong life indefinitely. Mysterious directions were passed on from the Greeks and Arabs which roused hope in western Europe that some of the strange substances produced in retort, crucible, and mortar would at last prove to be the potent and long-sought combination. Although no one discovered the philosopher's stone, the patient search for it brought to light curious and useful compounds which could be used in medicine and in the industries. To these were

given picturesque names, such as spirits of wine and of hartshorn, cream of tartar, oil of vitriol.

The progress of chemistry was much impeded by the respect for the old idea, which even Aristotle had maintained, that there were four "elements,"—earth, air, fire, and water,—and that heat and cold, dryness and dampness, were the fundamental qualities of matter. Even in the eighteenth century the arguments of a German chemist, to prove that flame was an element which was latent in bodies until they were subjected to heat, were accepted by the greatest minds of the time. The old hopes of finding the philosopher's stone had, however, been dissipated, chiefly by the English chemist Boyle (1626–1691).[1] New substances were discovered, and the various gases, or "airs," as they were first called, were isolated: first, "inflammable air," or hydrogen, by Boyle; later, carbonic acid gas, or "fixed air," and "nitrous air," or nitrogen.

Modern chemistry was not, however, really established until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when the celebrated French chemist Lavoisier (born in 1743 and beheaded by the guillotine in 1794), during some fifteen years of experimentation, succeeded in decomposing air and in showing that combustion was really the violent combination of the oxygen in the air with any material capable of rapid oxidization. By careful weighing he showed that the products of combustion were always exactly equal to the burned substance plus the oxygen used up in the burning. It was he also who first decomposed water into oxygen and hydrogen and then recombined these gases into water.

Lavoisier coöperated in drawing up a new system for renaming chemical substances which was presented to the French

[1] The impossibility of transmuting other metals into gold was supposed to be scientifically proved when it was discovered that gold was an *element*, or simple substance, which could not therefore be formed by any combination of other elements. Very recently, however, the strange action of the newly discovered radium and similar substances has shown that even the elements may decompose and transform themselves.

Academy of Sciences in 1787. The names adopted—sulphates, nitrates, oxides, etc.—are still employed in our textbooks of chemistry. Lavoisier's use of the balance, his successful analyses and recombinations, his correct conception of combustion and of the more important gases, enabled the chemists rapidly to multiply their discoveries and apply their knowledge to all manner of practical processes which have given us such diverse and important results as photography, the new and powerful explosives, aniline dyes, celluloid, and anæsthetics and many other potent drugs (see Chapter XXXVIII, below).

Just as the false hopes of alchemy promoted the development of chemistry, so the vain hopes of forecasting the future from the stars forwarded astronomy. Until recent times even the most intelligent persons have believed that the heavenly bodies influenced the fate of mankind; consequently, that a careful observation of the position of the planets at the time of a child's conception and birth would make it possible to forecast his life. In the same way important enterprises were only to be undertaken when the influence of the stars was auspicious. Physicians believed that the efficacy of their medicines depended upon the position of the planets. This whole subject of the influence of the stars upon human affairs was called *astrology* and was, in some cases, taught in the medieval universities. Those who studied the heavens gradually came, however, to the conclusion that the movements of the planets had no effect upon humanity, but the facts which the astrologers had discovered became the basis of modern astronomy.

All through the Middle Ages, even in the darkest period, learned men had known that the earth was a globe, and had not greatly underrated its size. They also knew that the planets and stars were very large and millions of miles away from the earth. But they nevertheless had a very inadequate notion of the tremendous extent of the universe. They mistakenly believed that the earth was its stationary center, and that the sun and all the heavenly host revolved about it every day.

Some of the Greek thinkers had suspected that this was not true; but a Polish astronomer, Kopernick (commonly known by his Latinized name of Copernicus), was the first modern writer to maintain boldly that the earth and the other planets revolved about the sun. His great work, *Upon the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies,* was published in 1543 just after his death. But he was unable to prove his theory, which was declared to be foolish and wicked by Catholics and Protestants alike, since it appeared to contradict the teachings of the Bible. Nevertheless Copernicus opened the way for an entirely new conception of the heavenly bodies and their motions, which continued to be studied with the help of new mathematical knowledge.

The truths which had been only suspected by earlier astronomers were demonstrated to the eye by Galileo (1564–1642). By means of a little telescope, which was not so powerful as the best modern field glasses, he discovered in 1610 the spots on the sun. These made it plain that the sun was turning on its axis in the same way that astronomers were already convinced that the earth turned. Galileo's little telescope showed, too, that the moons of Jupiter were revolving about their planet in the same way that the planets revolve about the sun.

The year that Galileo died, the famous English mathematician Isaac Newton was born (1642–1727). Newton carried on the work of earlier astronomers by the application of mathematics, and proved that the force of attraction which we call gravitation was a universal one, and that the sun, the moon, the earth, and all the heavenly bodies are attracted to one another inversely as the square of the distance.

While the telescope aided the astronomer, the microscope contributed far more to the extension of practical knowledge. Rude and simple microscopes were used with advantage as early as the seventeenth century. Leeuwenhoek, a Dutch linen merchant, so far improved his lenses that he discovered (1665)

the blood corpuscles and the "animalculæ," or minute organisms of various kinds found in pond water and elsewhere. The microscope has been rapidly perfected since the introduction of better kinds of lenses early in the nineteenth century, so that it is now possible to magnify minute objects to two or three thousand times their diameters. We shall return to this matter later (see Chapter XXXVIII, below).

How Scientific Progress aroused Religious Opposition

Not many years after Lord Bacon's death the government in England and France began to take an interest in promoting general scientific progress. The Royal Society was incorporated in London in 1662 under the king's patronage and soon began to issue its *Proceedings*, which still appear regularly. Four years later Colbert definitely organized the French Academy of Sciences. These academies, together with that founded by the Prussian king in 1700 in Berlin, by their discussions, by the publication of their proceedings, and by their encouragement and support of special investigations have served greatly to hasten scientific progress. Colbert established the famous observatory of Paris in 1667; a few years later (1676) the still more famous observatory at Greenwich, near London, was completed. Periodicals devoted to scientific matters began to appear. One of the very earliest and most important was the *Journal des savants*, encouraged by Colbert, which, except for a few years during the French Revolution, has been issued regularly for two centuries and a half.

Scientific expeditions to distant parts of the earth were also subsidized by the European governments, especially by France, to determine by simultaneous observations at widely distant points the exact size and shape of the globe and the distance of the moon from the earth. In 1769, when Venus crossed the face of the sun, an event that would not occur again for over a hundred years, astronomers were anxious to avail themselves

of this unusual opportunity to calculate more exactly than ever before the distance of the sun from the earth. Accordingly various governments arranged to dispatch observers to suitable places: the English to Hudson Bay, Tahiti, and Madras; the French to California and India; the Danes to North Cape; the Russians to Siberia. This was an early instance of what has now become an established practice in the case of any unusual astronomical event.

The observation and experimentation of which we have been speaking deeply influenced men's conceptions of the earth and of the universe at large. Of the many scientific discoveries by far the most fundamental was the conviction that all things about us follow certain natural and immutable laws; and it is the determination of these laws and the seeking out of their applications to which the modern scientific investigator devotes his efforts, whether he be calculating the distance of a nebula or noting the effect of light on the actions of an amœba. He has given up all hope of reading man's fate in the stars or of producing any results by magical processes. He is convinced that the natural laws have been found to work regularly in every instance where they have been carefully observed. Unlike the medieval scholars, therefore, he hesitates to accept as true the reports which reach him of miracles; that is, of alleged exceptions to the general laws in which he has come to have such confidence. Moreover, his study of the regular processes of nature has enabled him, as Roger Bacon foresaw, to work wonders far more marvelous than any attributed to the medieval magician.

The path of the scientific investigator has not always been without its thorns. Mankind has changed its notions with reluctance. The churchmen and the professors in the universities were wedded to the conceptions of the world which the medieval theologians and philosophers had worked out, mainly from the Bible and Aristotle. They clung to the old books that they and their predecessors had long used in teaching.

They had no desire to begin a long and painful examination of the innumerable substances and organisms from a study of which the newer scientists were gathering information that refuted the venerated theories of the past.

The theologians were especially prone to denounce scientific discoveries on the ground that they did not harmonize with the teachings of the Bible as commonly accepted. This Lord Bacon had foreseen. It was naturally a great shock to them, and also to the public at large, to have it suggested that man's dwelling place, instead of being God's greatest work, to which he had subordinated everything and around which the whole starry firmament revolved, was after all but a tiny speck in comparison with the whole universe, and its sun but one of an innumerable host of similar glowing bodies of stupendous size, each of which might have its particular family of planets revolving about it.

The bolder thinkers were consequently sometimes made to suffer for their ideas, and their books were prohibited or burned. Galileo was forced to say that he did not really believe that the sun revolved about the earth; and he was kept in partial confinement for a time and ordered to recite certain psalms every day for three years for having ventured to question the received views in a book which he wrote in Italian, instead of Latin, so that the public at large might read it.[1]

[1] But even the scientists themselves did not always readily accept new discoveries. Francis Bacon, who lived some seventy years after Copernicus, still clung to the old idea of the revolution of the sun about the earth and still believed in many quite preposterous illusions, as, for example, that "it hath been observed by the ancients that where a rainbow seemeth to hang over or to touch, there breatheth forth a sweet smell"; and that "since the ape is a merry and a bold beast, its heart worn near the heart of a man comforteth the heart and increaseth audacity." In the latter half of the eighteenth century Lavoisier was burned in effigy in Berlin because his discovery of oxygen threatened the accepted explanation of combustion.

Questioning the Supernatural; the Deists

Those who questioned the older ideas of the world and its workings and sought by experiment to reach new truths in regard to the laws of nature commonly let religion alone. Bacon, for example, makes it quite plain that the truths of revealed religion were to him on another basis than the conjectures of Aristotle in regard to chemical and physical phenomena. Theology and natural science were, he believed, to be kept apart, as each had its prescribed sphere. In general, scientific men were so absorbed in their particular work that they continued to accept the current teachings in regard to the supernatural powers and man's duty to God. They feared and resented the imputation that they were in any way undermining the foundations of the particular form of Christianity with which they were familiar. Nevertheless others began to call in question some of the fundamental conceptions which both Catholics and Protestants had continued to agree upon in spite of the break-up of the medieval Church. Those who gave up Christianity were called *deists* by their enemies, and sometimes by themselves. Often they were accused of "atheism," most unfairly. Their accepted name indicates that they believed stoutly in God, only differing in certain respects from the Christian ideas of the ruler of the universe.

Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, is usually ranked as the founder or forerunner of deism. He was a soldier, and seems from his autobiography to have led a gay life; but he was greatly interested in defending a broader conception of religion than that of his day. He wrote a little treatise called *De Veritate* (1624), concerning religious truth, and, later, *The Ancient Religion of the Gentiles*. He could not bring himself to agree that the deity had indiscriminately condemned the heathen. Yet he had been reared in the belief that

> After the Fall of Adam, all mankind was formed and produced out of a degenerate mass; some of them (out of the mere good

pleasure of God and the intervention of the death of Christ) were elected to eternal glory; but the far greater part, nay even those that never heard of the name of Christ, were reprobated and determined to eternal perdition; and that the most innocent and commendable lives the heathens could lead would avail them nothing; for their works were merely moral and upon that account altogether insignificant. Now when I perceived that they [that is, the divines] resolved the causes of eternal salvation or damnation only into the good pleasure of God and the death of Christ, I found that their opinion was grounded not on reason; . . . and I could not think that they were so privy to the secret counsels of God as to be able to establish anything for certain. Wherefore I left them as entertaining mean, base and unworthy thoughts of the Most Good and Great God and of mankind in general. How could I believe that a just God could take pleasure in the eternal reprobation of those to whom he never afforded any means of salvation, yet endued with souls made after his own image; and whom he foresaw must be damned of absolute necessity without the least hopes or possibility of escaping it? I could not understand how they could call that God most good and great, who created men only to damn them without their knowledge and against their will.[1]

There were, he believed, certain great truths underlying all pagan religions, however much they might be obscured by priestly misrepresentations. These were common to all faiths:

Five undeniable propositions presently occurred to me which not only we but all mankind in general must needs acknowledge: I, That there is one supreme God; II, That he ought to be worshipped; III, That virtue and piety are the chief parts of divine worship; IV, That we ought to be sorry for our sins and repent of them; V, That Divine Goodness doth dispense rewards and punishments both in this life and after it.

These truths he believed to be revealed to all God's children; those who gave heed to them would be saved whether they had or had not heard of the Bible or of redemption through Christ.

[1] *The Religion of the Gentiles*, chap. i. See the Calvinistic theories quoted in Vol. I, pp. 441 ff.

Lord Herbert's five points were not forgotten. It was, however, several decades after his death, in 1648, before the deists became a live issue in England. An Anglican clergyman, Thomas Burnet (1635–1715), published in 1692 a book maintaining that the account in Genesis of the fall of man was an allegory. He tells over the story of Adam and Eve in a somewhat facetious manner and declares that only the force of custom and preconceived opinion make it possible to take it literally. Were it a Greek or a Mohammedan account no Christian, he urges, would accept it without asking where God got thread and a needle to make skin coats for the sinful pair; who skinned the animals; and whether or not, since there was but a pair of each species in the beginning, one kind of creature was not extinguished in thus founding the "tailor's trade." Burnet was not a deist, but his sarcastic résumé of sacred history was eagerly seized upon by those who were giving up their belief in the Bible. They argued that it was absurd to assume that God had selected the Jews as his chosen people, and accordingly the ancient Hebrew account of the beginnings of things came to be a favorite playground for their sarcasms. In making sport of the Biblical narratives, Voltaire, Thomas Paine, and Robert Ingersoll could not go farther than Charles Blount (d. 1693) and the famous Lord Bolingbroke, Pope's friend.

The deists are generally assumed to have been scurrilous in their attacks on Christianity, but they were no more violent and unjust than many of the defenders of the older faith. Bishop Berkeley in his *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1732) assumes that no one can be a deist without being a scoundrel, and he indulges in the most ill-considered recriminations.

On the other hand, Joseph Butler sought to refute the deistic arguments in a very sober and logical fashion in his long-famous *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed* (1736). This was used until recently in American colleges to prove the truths of revealed religion and at the same time to test the wits of seniors. As a matter of fact the book was not exactly a de-

fense of Christianity. The deists contended that the workings of nature proved the existence of a wise and benevolent creator who was to be worshiped and obeyed. They thought the Bible unnecessary and rejected its accounts of miracles as unworthy of the Deity, who did not, they asserted, violate his own laws. Now all that Butler attempted to do was to prove that there were just as many and serious difficulties in this assumption as in the acceptance of the Bible. He quotes Origen, an early Church Father, to the effect that "He who believes the Scripture to have proceeded from him who is the author of Nature, may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the constitution of Nature." "In like way," Butler adds, "he who denies the Scripture to be of God upon account of these difficulties may for the very same reason deny the world to have been formed by him." In short, the Bible and the course of nature offer a close "analogy," and it is a logical presumption "that they both have the same Author and Cause." That it is quite as easy and quite as hard to find a revelation of God and his attributes in the Bible as in nature is all Butler tried to prove. Some writers have felt that instead of making the Bible seem at least as firm a basis of religious truth as a study of nature, the *Analogy* really serves to make natural religion as dubious as the deists thought revealed religion to be.

Among the deistic writers the most charming and the longest popular was Lord Shaftesbury (d. 1713), a pupil of John Locke. In his delightful *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, and Times*, as his complete works are called, he urges the rights of wit and humor in dealing with serious matters. He describes God as having the attributes of which we find a feeble reflection in an earthly gentleman. Should a gentleman discover someone on his vast estates who happened to know little about him or his character, or was mistaken about his lord's doings, this would not "kindle his horrible vengeance," to use Calvin's words, but would be accepted with tolerant kindness. Shaftesbury was a gentle soul, and argued that men were not

primarily actuated by fear and jealousy, as Thomas Hobbes held, but by a deep anxiety to stand well with their fellows; that this longing for approbation was the chief cause of virtue; and that virtue was moderation, tolerance, consideration, and good taste. Being a charming gentleman himself, he suspected that others, even the Deity, possessed the kind of virtue he most highly esteemed.

We may say that all the deists, whatever their particular temperament, concurred in rejecting the teachings of the theologians, both Catholic and Protestant, that through Adam's fall mankind was rendered utterly vile and incapable (except through God's special grace) of good thoughts or deeds. They maintained, on the contrary, that man was by nature good, that should he freely use his own God-given reason, he was capable of becoming increasingly wise by a study of nature's laws, and that he could indefinitely better his own condition and that of his fellows if he would but free himself from the shackles of error and superstition. Those who had broadened their views of mankind and of the universe refused longer to believe that God had revealed himself only to the Jewish people, but maintained that he must be equally solicitous for all his creatures in all ages and in all parts of a boundless universe where everything was controlled by his immutable laws. This tendency to "enlarge God" is illustrated in the famous "Universal Prayer" of Alexander Pope, written about 1737:

Father of all! in ev'ry age,
In ev'ry clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehova, Jove, or Lord!

. . . . . .

Yet not to earth's contracted span
Thy goodness let me bound,
Or think Thee Lord alone of man,
When thousand worlds are 'round.

Although the deists were misunderstood and harshly condemned by Christian believers, and Pope was suspected of "infidelity," this "Universal Prayer" can be sung in Christian churches today, and his long poem called *An Essay on Man*, which expresses throughout deistic doctrines, can be read without offense by the most devout modern Christian. The deists maintained that their conception of God was far worthier than that of their contemporaries, and they certainly exercised no inconsiderable influence upon the gradually changing views of the Deity.

Witchcraft and its Decline

While the deists were striving to revise the traditional ideas of God and his government of the world, others were attacking the ancient beliefs about Satan and his agents. It is hard for us nowadays to realize how essential, vivid, and ever present a part of Christian doctrine *demonology* continued to be down to the opening of the eighteenth century. The existence of evil spirits was distinctly recognized in both the Old and New Testaments, and all Christian authorities taught that demons were ever active in bringing disaster on mankind and dragging souls down to hell. It was quite as urgent a duty of the true Christian to fear the devil as to trust in God. Had not Satan tempted Christ himself and promised him all the kingdoms of the earth if he would worship him? And had not Jesus cast out many demons who had entered into unfortunate human beings? In the book of Revelation it is foretold that Satan will be imprisoned for a thousand years, and after being loosed for a season he shall be cast into a lake of fire and brimstone.

The devils not only seduced men from their duty and faith, afflicted them with disease, overwhelmed them with storms, but they even made compacts with them to act as their agents. These agents were the sorcerers and witches who enjoyed the delegated powers of evil to plague their fellow men and sometimes to forecast the future. The only aspect of Christian

demonology which will be spoken of here is the belief in witchcraft and the treatment of those accused of it.

The various kinds of devilish arts are described in the Bible. In Deuteronomy (chapter xviii) the Children of Israel are warned that when they come into the Promised Land they must not learn to do after the abominations of the nations they will find there. "There shall not be found with thee any one . . . that useth divination, one that practiseth augury, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard, or a necromancer." In Exodus (chapter xxii) there is the terrible command "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," which has been cited to justify the torture and death of tens of thousands of poor old women. In the New Testament Paul mentions witchcraft among the various sins of the flesh. Strangely enough, although witchcraft was not uncommon in the later Middle Ages, it was not until about the time of Luther's birth that it became prominent in western Europe. Its most hideous and wholesale manifestations coincide with the Protestant revolt, alike in Catholic and Protestant countries.

In 1484 the Pope, Innocent VIII, received news of the devil's activities in Germany, and in a famous bull he describes officially the kinds of things which witches were supposed to do:

> It has recently come to our ears that many persons of both sexes . . . give themselves over to devils, male and female, and by their incantations, charms, and conjurings, and by other abominable superstitions, sortileges, offenses, crimes and misdeeds, ruin and cause to perish the offspring of women, the foals of animals, the products of the earth, the grapes on the vine, and the fruits of trees, as well as men and women, cattle and flocks, and herds, and animals of every kind . . . that they afflict and torture with dire pains and anguish, both internal and external, these men and women, cattle, flocks, herds, and animals; and hinder men from begetting and women from conceiving, and prevent all consummation of marriage. That, moreover, they deny with sacrilegious lips the faith they received

in holy baptism; and that, at the instigation of the enemy of mankind, they do not fear to commit and perpetrate many other abominable offenses and crimes, at the risk of their own souls, to the insult of the Divine Majesty and the pernicious example and scandal of multitudes.[1]

These were the evil deeds unanimously ascribed to witches not only by the Pope and all his supporters but by Lutherans, Presbyterians, Anglicans, and other Protestants as well.

In addition to the plagues that the witches were supposed to bring upon innocent people and animals, they were accused of attending Witches' Sabbath. Flying away on a broomstick or a three-legged stool, they held meetings with their evil companions, over which the devil himself presided, sometimes in the form of a goat. Many nasty details occur in the records respecting the license encouraged by Satan and the forms of worship he demanded.

As one reads the squalid, obscene, and heartless witch literature he is filled with astonishment that such a really great thinker as the Catholic writer Jean Bodin (d. 1596) and the alert New Englander Cotton Mather, a Boston divine living a century later, should eagerly receive and defend all the rumors that reached them of the devil's doings. But one should recollect that they felt compelled to believe the Bible, which says that the wicked queen Jezebel's witchcrafts were many. They knew too that Greek and Roman writers recorded the deeds of witches. The unhappy Medea resorted to sorcery, and Apuleius tells of Thessalian witches. There was no reason to think that the devil was any less active than of yore. Luther had personal experiences with him. Cotton Mather says in his *Enchantments Encountered:*

The New Englanders are a people of God settled in those which were once the Devil's territories. And it may easily be supposed

[1] As translated by Professor George L. Burr, our most kindly and scholarly witchmonger today.

that the Devil was exceedingly disturbed when he perceived such a people here accomplishing the promise of old made unto our blessed Jesus, that he should have the uttermost parts of the earth for his possessions. . . . The Devil thus irritated immediately tried all sorts of methods to overturn this poor plantation. . . . I believe that never were more satanical devices used for unsettling any people under the sun than what have been employed for the extirpation of the vine which God has planted here.

This means that the devil was precisely as real to all believers as God himself. As we shall see, to question the existence of witches was to question the devil's reality, which was as good as "atheism."

Then there were the confessions of the witches themselves. They freely admitted that they had spoiled the crops, afflicted their neighbors' animals, scourged with infertility their neighbors' wives, caused grievous pains in their children, and that they had with the devil's aid flown up the chimney, joined Anna and Jane and many strangers in a remote field, and danced around the hellish goat and obeyed his unclean behests. The fact that these confessions were extorted in an agony of anxiety and torture did not weigh with the believers in witchcraft, since the evidence was just what they looked for. The miserable suspects knew what they were expected to say, and preferred the prospect of being burned, strangled, or hanged to further torture. And so it came about that judges, physicians, philosophers, eminent divines, as well as the uninstructed multitude, accepted witchcraft as an indispensable element in their religious convictions.

It required either a very bold or a very simple person to raise any queries in regard to the validity of these well-substantiated convictions about witches. As early as 1564 a certain Dr. Weir, a German, raised a mild protest, but this was more than counteracted when the great Bodin took up his pen (1581) and heaped insult on all those who questioned the soundness of the witch theory. Montaigne had his doubts,

which he expressed with his customary prudence.[1] The first ruthless attack came from an Englishman, primarily interested in successful hop-growing in Kent. Reginald Scott spoke his mind in his book published in 1584. The title-page is full long:

The Discovery of Witchcraft: proving the common opinion of witches' contracting with devils, spirits, or familiars; and their power to kill, torment, and consume the bodies of men, women and children or other creatures by diseases or otherwise; their flying in the air etc.; to be but imaginary and erroneous conceptions and novelties; wherein also the lewd, unchristian practices of witch-mongers upon aged, melancholy, ignorant, superstitious people in extorting confessions by inhumane terrors and tortures is notably detected. . . . With many other things opened that have long lain hidden, though very necessary to be known for the undeceiving of judges, justices, and juries, and for the preservation of poor, aged, deformed people, frequently taken, arraigned, condemned and executed for witches, when according to right understanding and a good conscience, physic, food, and necessaries should be administrated.

Nothing remained to be said when Scott had finished,[2] but no one can say how influential this sturdy indictment proved.

[1] How much more natural and likely do I find it that two men should lie, than that one man in twelve hours' time should fly with the wind from east to west? How much more natural that our understanding should be carried from its place by the wanderings of our disordered minds, than that one of us should be carried by a strange spirit upon a broomstick, flesh and bones as we are, up the flue of a chimney. Let us not seek illusions from without and unknown, we who are perpetually agitated with illusions private and our own. . . . After all, 'tis setting a man's conjectures at a very high price, upon that excuse to cause a man to be roasted alive.—*Essays*, Book III, xi (written before 1588)

[2] One paragraph from Reginald Scott's work will give some idea of his method of approach: "The common people have been so assotted and bewitched with whatever poets have feigned of witchcraft, either in earnest, in jest, or else in derision; and with whatsoever lowd liers and couseners for their pleasures heerein have invented, and with whatsoever tales they have heard from old doting women, or from their mothers maids, and with whatsoever the grand foole their ghostlie father . . . had informed them; and finallie with whatsoever they have swollowed up through tract or time, or through their owne

For a century and more after his time both learned and ignorant in England clung to and defended their notions of the devil and his accessories.

Queen Elizabeth had been warned by one of her clergy, John Jewel, that witches had "marvellously increased within her realms," and a statute had been passed in 1563 prescribing the death of a felon for anyone implicated in witchcrafts or sorceries "whereby any person shall happen to be killed." James VI of Scotland, who was to succeed Elizabeth as James I of England, was impressed with the fearful abounding of witches in Scotland, and in 1597 published his *Demonologie*. He had no patience with Scott or any doubter. He gives all the old arguments and explains that it is easy to see why twenty women are given to witchcraft to one man, "for the sex is frailer than man is, so it is easier to be entrapped in those gross snares of the devil." "Two good helps may be used for their trial, the one is the finding of their mark and the trying the insensibleness thereof." This was based on the idea that the devil produced an insensitive spot on a witch's body which could be located by sticking pins into her. The other test advocated by his Majesty was "swimming" the witch. If when thrown into the water those accused of witchcraft floated, it was a sign appointed of God that the water refused "to receive those in her bosom that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism." With James's accession to the English throne a new law against witches was passed by Parliament in 1603.

The discussion continued for a century or more. The literature in favor of witchcraft was more weighty than that opposed. Those who dared reject the evidence were declared to be atheists or "Sadducees,"[1] who denied the existence of spirits.

timerous nature in ignorant conceipt of hagges and witches; as they have so settled their opinion and credit thereupon that they think it heresy to doubt anie part of the matter, speciallie bicause they find this word witchcraft expressed in the scriptures."

[1] For the Sadducees say There is no resurrection, neither angel nor spirit.—Acts xxiii, 8.

And the argument of a Cambridge philosopher, Henry More (d. 1687), ran as follows:

> Those who sing the drunken catch, "Hay, ho, the devil is dead," are a sort of people very horribly afraid there should be any spirit, lest there should be a devil and an account after this life. And therefore they are impatient of anything that implies it, that they may with a more full swing and with all security from an after-reckoning, indulge their own lusts and humors in this.

The most impressive of the later defenses of witchcraft was that of an English clergyman, Joseph Glanvill, who was enthusiastic in regard to the scientific advance of his time and fairly skeptical in many ways. In his *Sadducismus Triumphatus, or Full and Plain Evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions* (English translation from the Latin, 1681) he declares that the rejection of witchcraft is but a cloak for the denial of the spiritual world and all moral responsibility. "Those that dare not bluntly say 'there is no God' content themselves to deny there are spirits or witches." Reginald Scott's arguments he dismisses with utter contempt.

In 1692 Satan held his last great carnival in the little New England town of Salem, and this led Cotton Mather to write very fully of *The Wonders of the Invisible World*. This is the easiest had of all the many collections of witch tales and discussions of devils, and will afford the reader abundant material for meditation upon certain unhappy tendencies of mankind.

Whether the attacks on the doctrine of witches had much effect upon public opinion cannot be determined. It seems to have been for the most part a symptom rather than a cause. The older beliefs gradually ceased to appeal to writers and to the public. Ten years before Cotton Mather died, in 1728, an Anglican bishop, Francis Hutchinson, published *An Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, dedicated to the Lord Chief Justice. This reviews the chief trials for witchcraft in England and shows the unsatisfactory character of the evidence.

In other cases when wicked or mistaken people charge us with crimes of which we are not guilty, we clear ourselves by showing that at that time we were at home, or in some other place, about our honest business. But in prosecutions for witchcraft that most natural and just defence is a mere jest; for if any wicked person affirms, or any cracked brain girl imagines, or any lying spirit makes her believe, that she sees any old woman, or other person pursuing her in her visions the defenders of vulgar witchcraft take an imaginary, unproved compact [with the devil] to the deposition and hang the accused parties for things that were doing when they were perhaps asleep upon their beds or saying their prayers.

While Hutchinson feared some possible revival of the old delusions, he seems to assume that no thoughtful or educated person longer took any stock in them.

No one can tell how many suffered in Christian countries as witches, for there are no full records; tens of thousands, in any case. Executions were so common in Germany and Spain as to attract only local attention. Hutchinson thinks that only about one hundred and forty were executed in England after the Reformation. Only a few suffered in France in Louis XIV's time. The last conviction in England was in 1712, and the old witch laws were repealed in 1736.[1]

Monarchs by the Grace of God, and their Critics

Heavenly rule is scarcely more mysterious than earthly sovereignty. They have been intimately associated in the past. Kings have often been deemed gods; they have played the part of priests; they were hedged about with sacred majesty as representatives of the Almighty. They have claimed the right to regulate the religious beliefs of their sub-

[1] The total number of victims of the witch persecutions is variously estimated at from one hundred thousand to several millions. If it is true that Benedict Carpzov (1595–1666) passed sentence on twenty thousand victims, the former figure is undoubtedly too low.—Northcote W. Thomas, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under "Witchcraft"

jects as well as to appropriate their persons and possessions to maintain themselves and their courtiers in luxury and to carry on their contests with other representatives of God. Government has been encompassed with superstitions, by which is meant assumptions that will not bear careful inspection. It has paraded in ermine robes and dwelt in magnificence; yet kings themselves have often been commonplace men leading lives of indulgence, utterly at variance with the standards of their subjects. They have been surrounded by flatterers and have had commonly to rely upon a few able ministers to give some semblance of propriety and success to their reigns.

We have seen quite enough in preceding pages of the deeds for which princes have become famous. Of the scandals and corruption of their courts little has been said, though we have abundant and authentic evidence on these matters. It would not be decent to set forth the private lives of Henry VIII, Francis I, Henry IV, Charles II, or Louis XIV, not to speak of Louis XV. The authorities would exclude from the mails any volume which did so.

When Thomas Hobbes came to write his great work on government, in the time of Cromwell, some imp whispered to him that he should call it *The Leviathan* after that terrible monster described in the book of Job.

> Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook? . . . Will he make many supplications unto thee? will he speak soft words unto thee? . . . Wilt thou take him for a servant for ever? . . . His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal. . . . His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth. . . . His heart is as firm as a stone; yea, as hard as a piece of the nether millstone. When he raiseth up himself, the mighty are afraid.

Since the times of Plato and Aristotle many a heavy book has been written on government, its origin, its various forms, its legitimate sources, and its just powers and limitations. Practically none of these describe the way in which governments

have actually been run, but rather the ideals according to which they should be conducted. In all governmental policy there have been overwhelming elements of personal favoritism and private gain, which were not suitable for publication. This is because all governments are managed by human beings who remain human beings even if they are called kings, diplomats, ministers, secretaries, judges, or hold seats in august legislative bodies. No process has yet been discovered by which promotion to a position of public responsibility will do away with a man's interest in his own welfare, his partialities, loves, and hates, his ambition and dread of defeat, his ignorance and prejudices. And yet most books on government neglect these considerations, and hence their unreality and futility. All these statements are historical facts of the utmost importance.

A good deal was said in the first volume of the doings of European governments in the Middle Ages and of the relation of the secular princes to the Church rulers. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, between the death of Elizabeth in 1603 and the founding of the first French republic in 1793, the theories of earthly rule underwent great changes which lie back of the prevailing ideas of our own time. The Constitution of the United States, which slightly antedates the French Revolution, is still accepted, with some slight modifications, as embodying the correct form and principles of government for over a hundred millions of people. It is the product of the late eighteenth century. The prevailing conditions and their reflection in theories, which brought about the Federal Constitution and the first French republic have gone on operating and developing down to the present.

They have produced certain important results: (1) The decline and ultimate disappearance from Europe of the theory of divine right of kings and the overturning of almost all European thrones, including those of the Tsar and the Sultan. (2) The replacement of the old belief in divinely appointed or hereditary kings by the sovereignty of the people, and methods

by which all adult citizens, both men and women, may vote for their chief state officials. (3) The supremacy of the civil government over religious bodies, or a sharp separation of Church and State, with a growing indifference upon the part of governments as to what religious views their citizens hold. (4) The great weakening or disappearance of the two classes which formerly largely influenced public affairs, the clergy and the nobility, and the tendency of powerful business interests to take their place. (5) The growth of *nationalism*, a belief that the state is not merely the territories which a dynasty managed to bring under its scepter, but the fundamental unity of a people in sentiment, language, and racial traits. (6) Lastly, the question has inevitably arisen how the newly conceived nations are to make terms with one another and come to live in peace in spite of all the terrible warlike traditions set by the older monarchical governments? We shall confine ourselves in this chapter to a short account of the weakening of kingly power.

No one previously or in later times could outrun the enthusiasm of Queen Elizabeth's clergy in setting forth and defending the doctrine of the divine right of princes. The Anglican Church had been created by the English monarchs, and its sanction depended upon a recognition of their right to throw off the papal supremacy. The public must be convinced that their ruler enjoyed the God-given powers formerly attributed to the Pope. A series of sermons to be preached to the people, *The Homilies*, were prepared by Protestant ministers during the reign of Edward VI and in the early years of Elizabeth. That "Concerning Good Order and Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates" was prepared as early as 1547 and that "Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion" was added in 1569, after the rising in the north (Vol. I, p. 484).

The people were told that were it not for their ruler they would be in constant fear and wretchedness; no man would be safe on the highway or sleep unmolested in his bed. Should

a wicked prince command what was contrary to God's law he should never be actively disobeyed, for "rebellion is no medicine for small lacks in a prince," since a rebel is worse than the most evil sovereign. And should a ruler prove to be evil-minded, this is but a just punishment for the sins of his people. God himself said:

Through me kings do reign, through me counsellors make just laws; through me do princes bear rule. . . . Here let us mark well and remember that the high authority of kings, with their makings of laws, judgements and officers, are the ordinances, not of man, but of God. . . . It is an intolerable ignorance, madness and wickedness for subjects to make any murmuring, rebellion, resistance, commotion, or insurrection against their dear and most dread sovereign lord and king, ordained and appointed of God's goodness for their commodity, peace and quietness. . . . Let us fear the terrible punishment of Almighty God against traitors or rebellious persons by the example of Korah, Dathan and Abiram, which repugned and grudged against God's magistrates and officers, and therefore the earth opened and swallowed them alive.[1] Others for their wicked murmuring and rebellion were by a sudden fire sent of God utterly consumed. Others, for their forward behavior to their rulers and governors, God's ministers, were suddenly stricken with foul leprosy. Others were stinged to death with wonderful strange fiery serpents. . . .

The first author of rebellion was Lucifer, first God's most excellent creature and most bounden subject; who, by rebelling against the Majesty of God, of the brightest and most glorious angel is become the blackest and most foul fiend and devil, and from the height of heaven is fallen into the pit and bottom of hell. . . . It cometh, therefore, neither of chance and fortune, nor of the ambition of men and women climbing up of their own accord to dominion, that there be kings, queens, princes, and other governors over men, being their subjects, but all kings, queens, and other governors are especially appointed by the ordinance of God.

A century later, in the early days of Louis XIV, the doctrine of monarchy by the grace of God found an eloquent exponent

[1] A reference to Numbers xvi.

in Bishop Bossuet, who prepared for the then heir to the French throne his treatise on *Politics drawn from the very Words of Scripture*. It is evident, he says, from the descriptions of kings in the Old Testament, that

> The person of the king is sacred, and that to attack him in any way is a sacrilege. . . . Kings should be guarded as holy things, and whosoever neglects to protect them is worthy of death. . . . Where the word of the king is, there is power; and who may say to him, What doest thou? . . . Without this absolute authority the king could neither do good nor repress evil. The prince, as prince, is not regarded as a private person; he is a public personage; all the State is in him; the will of all the people is included in his. As all perfection is united in God, so all the powers of individuals is united in the person of the prince.
>
> [The king] is the image of God, who, seated on his high throne in the heavens, makes all nature move. . . . Behold the secret cause which governs the whole body of the State, contained in a single head; you see the image of God in the king, and you have the idea of royal majesty. . . . Oh kings, exercise your power boldly, for it is divine and salutary for human kind; but exercise it with humility. You are endowed with it from without. Know that it leaves you feeble, it leaves you mortal, it leaves you sinners, and charges you before God with a very heavy account.

In the passages just quoted we have what we may call an official statement of the doctrine of the divine right of kings as it was preached by Elizabeth's Protestant clergymen and by a distinguished Roman Catholic prelate in France. By the end of the seventeenth century, events rather than arguments had reduced this conception of kingship to insignificance in England, and, a century later, events rather than arguments destroyed, for a time, the Bourbon monarchy in France.

Elizabeth had had to guard herself against the attacks of the Roman Catholics, especially as represented by the adherents of Mary Queen of Scots and Philip II of Spain. She insisted that it was a part of loyalty to her and her government

for her subjects to accept the rule of the bishops she appointed, to attend church regularly, to follow the service as prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and, for government officials to pledge themselves to the Thirty-nine Articles. She and her advisers deemed it a *political* rather than a *religious* duty for all her loving subjects to be "knit together in one perfect unity of doctrine, and to be conjoined in one uniformity of rites and manners in the ministration of God's holy word (the "Advertisements," 1566).

Elizabeth herself was no fanatic; nor was the sensible Richard Hooker, who wrote his celebrated *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* to establish the reasonableness of order and uniformity in the matter of public worship. Later Archbishop Laud, in the days of Charles I, strove to enforce outward conformity. But all these leaders were quite willing that people should interpret the Bible or the Church Fathers according to their own tastes so long as they showed respect for the forms and general beliefs established by law.

In Elizabeth's time there was a large party which advocated Calvin's system of church rule by presbyters; another increasing group believed that it was not the business of the State to establish religious beliefs and church service, but that Christians should be free to meet together as they pleased, according to any forms they chose. These were the Separatists and the Congregationalists, or Independents. The heated arguments of these various religious parties filled England for a century with bitter controversy in regard to the nature and limits of the sovereign's power. Meanwhile a Stuart king had engaged in civil war, had been imprisoned by his subjects, had been executed, and his dynasty had been supplanted for a time by a republic, during which the House of Peers was abolished.[1] With the Restoration, laws against dissenters, as we have seen, continued to be issued, but after the accession of William and Mary all effort to enforce religious conformity was abandoned.

[1] For an account of the Stuart period see Vol. I, pp. 498 ff.

Thus government was becoming disentangled from religion. The doctrine that it was a result of man's fall, or that it was a divine institution to be regulated and justified by citing passages from the Bible, gave way before the conviction that it was a practical human device which had nothing to do with things divine. The best-known exponent of this view was Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). He wrote his *Leviathan* (first published in 1651) to prove that man's fears, mutual jealousies and hates were so fundamental that only an absolute monarchy could possibly bring peace and order. This kind of absolutism was not founded upon God's beneficent care for man but upon man's fears and inveterate tendency to quarrel. Only an absolute monarch could control these.

Other writers, however, began to show a tendency to suggest as the rightful and ultimate source of government the people or their representatives rather than a king. This point of view was taken by John Locke shortly after the death of Hobbes. Locke's arguments were, like those of Hobbes, founded on man's nature and needs, not on God's will. After the Revolution of 1688 the English government's claims to power were based upon the laws of the realm, old and new, and not on the Bible or on any theological theory of the divine right of kings.

CHAPTER XXV

FURTHER QUESTIONING, ESPECIALLY IN HOLLAND AND FRANCE

Censorship and Toleration

All the discussions about heavenly and earthly authority, of which we have been speaking, inevitably raised the interesting question of how far the government was justified in punishing those who "murmured." Was it the duty of government officials to destroy or prevent the publication of books which they deemed treasonable, seditious, heretical, blasphemous, or indecent? Were they to arrest or silence those who criticized the monarch and his ministers or expressed doubts in regard to the accepted ideas of God and the Bible and the powers of the Church? It was unanimously agreed that it was the business of rulers and magistrates to punish those who disturbed peace and order. Did this prerogative extend to such talking and writing as seemed to the authorities to threaten the tranquillity or welfare of the realm? A speech, a book, or a pamphlet might easily have more far-reaching and disturbing effects on public opinion than any overt act. It might seem more deliberately criminal and inexcusable than some hasty deed of violence, of which the State would take immediate notice.

On the other hand, those who think that they have new and better ideas and plans than the prevailing ones naturally demand the right to be heard. They urge that if government officials are permitted to suppress or punish novel suggestions and free criticism, old mistakes and abuses can never be overcome nor new truth disseminated. The problem of "free-

dom of speech" was raised in the United States by the World War, and it is important to note the eloquent arguments of those former advocates of liberty who helped lay the foundations for such freedom of discussion as exists today.

During the Middle Ages the State supported the Church in punishing all who dared dissent from the official religious doctrines, and sometimes the universities established penalties for those who expressed disagreement with Aristotle. When printing was invented, measures were taken by the Church authorities to have manuscripts approved by a bishop or a board of censors before books could be legally printed. The Council of Trent, as has been pointed out (Vol. I, p. 462), established a cumulative *Index of Prohibited Books,* including those that must be expurgated before being admitted to circulation. The first celebrated work to review all those precautions of the past and plead eloquently for the entire abolition of government censorship was the *Areopagitica,* by the poet John Milton.

Milton was a bold thinker and ardent reformer, one who would be called a "radical" by most people today. He made an uncongenial marriage in 1643, when he was thirty-five, with a girl of seventeen. She speedily left him; and he published forthwith his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,* in which he declared that the most substantial and holy justification of divorce was *incompatibility.* He rejected the doctrine that matrimony had a permanent sacramental sanction, and claimed that his contentions were based upon a proper interpretation of the Bible as well as upon the most profound dictates of reason, common sense, simple decency, and humanity. Domestic bondage was worse than any public tyranny, "for he in vain makes a vaunt of liberty in the senate or in the forum who languishes under the vilest servitude to an inferior at home."

In addressing his *Doctrine of Divorce* to the Long Parliament, he says:

If it were seriously asked who of all teachers and masters that ever have taught have drawn the most disciples after him, both in

religion and manners, it might not untruly be answered, Custom. . . . Error supports Custom, Custom countenances Error. And these two would persecute and chase away all truth and solid wisdom out of human life. [These,] with the numerous and vulgar train of their followers, make it their chief design to envy and cry down the industry of free reasoning, under the terms "humor" and "innovation"; as if the womb of teeming Truth were to be closed up if she presumes to try to bring forth ought that sorts not with their unchewed notions and suppositions. . . . [Truth] never comes into the world but like a bastard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth. . . . When points of difficulty are to be discussed appertaining to the removal of unreasonable wrong and burden from the perplexed life of our brother, it is incredible how cold, how dull and far from all fellow-feeling we are, without the spur of self-discernment.

Milton's recommendations have been legalized in Denmark in the twentieth century, but they aroused only scandal in England in the seventeenth. Bishop Hall denounced his book as a licentious pamphlet; James Howell—whose letters are not wholly forgotten—called the poet "a poor, shallow-brained puppy." He was branded as the founder of a new sect of "divorcers." With his convictions in regard to the teeming womb of Truth, the firm alliance of Custom and Error, together with the spur of self-discernment which had come to him through his ill-sorted marriage and the execrations heaped upon him and his book, it is not strange that Milton's proud spirit produced the *Areopagitica.*

Its object, he says, was to make plain "that the power of determining what was true and what was false, what ought to be published and what to be suppressed, might no longer be intrusted to a few illiterate and illiberal individuals, who refused their sanction to any work which contained views or sentiments at all above the level of the vulgar superstition."

Any attempt to describe the *Areopagitica* briefly is embarrassing; it flames beyond any feeble, second-hand report.

Fortunately it has lived, and all can get and read it for themselves. It is not easy to find any further indictments against the habit which was revived by the Long Parliament, of requiring the inspection and approval by government censors before a book could be legally issued. Truth was a temple still in the building; its foundations were scarce laid. Each thinker worked on but a single stone, which might some day go into the final structure. Only a little had so far been discovered of all that still lay unknown to man. Nothing should hamper the progress of thought, above all, the foolish verdicts of official censors, for no man of parts would ever accept such a disreputable position. The censors never succeeded in guarding or purifying morals. Men could learn only from experience, not by having their beliefs guarded. And here Milton bursts out with the celebrated utterance:

> I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out to see her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where the immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather; that which purifies us is trial, and trial is by what is contrary. That virtue, therefore, which is but a youngling in the contemplation of evil, and knows not the utmost that vice promises to her followers, and rejects it, is but a blank virtue, not a pure; her whiteness is but an excremental whiteness. . . . Since therefore the knowledge and survey of vice is in this world so necessary to the constituting of human virtue, and the scanning of error to the confirmation of truth, how can we more safely and with less danger scout into the regions of sin and falsity than by reading all manner of tractates and hearing all manner of reason? And this is the benefit which may be had of books promiscuously read.

Next to the *Areopagitica* John Locke's first *Letter on Toleration*, published anonymously in 1689, is the most outstanding argument against governmental attempts to interfere with freedom of religious belief. This is neither so eloquent nor so

broad in its scope as Milton's work, but it contains many weighty objections to persecution. Locke had become so unpopular with the government of James II that he went to Holland in 1683. There he made the acquaintance of some of the distinguished men who had sought safety in that tolerant land. Of these a word will be said later. After the accession of a Dutchman, William of Orange, to the English throne, Locke returned, and began at the age of fifty-six to publish the various works which were to give him a European reputation. He was a person of balanced good sense who abhorred all forms of religious fanaticism ("enthusiasm," as it was then called), and who wrote for the general reader with no academic affectations of learning.

To him religion was essentially righteous conduct fortified by a simple and sincere acceptance of the gospel. He writes:

> I appeal to the conscience of those that persecute, torment, destroy and kill other men on pretense of religion, whether they do it out of friendship and kindness toward them, or no. And I shall then indeed, and not till then, believe they do so when I shall see these fiery zealots correcting in the same manner their friends and familiar acquaintance for the manifest sins they commit against the precepts of the gospel; when I shall see them prosecute with fire and sword the members of their own communion that are tainted with enormous vices and, without amendment, are in danger of eternal perdition.

The care of men's souls does not, he claims, belong in any way to the duties of government. Outward force will not purify belief. "Light can in no manner proceed from corporal sufferings or any other outward penalty." If it be urged that the orthodox church has a right to suppress the erroneous and heretical, this is just using "great and specious words to say nothing at all. For every church is orthodox to itself—to others, erroneous and heretical. Whatever any church believes it believes to be true, and the contrary thereto it pronounces to be error. . . . The decision of that question belongs only to

the Supreme Judge of all men, to whom alone belongs the punishment of the erroneous." Locke concludes:

> The sum of all we strive at is that every man may enjoy the same rights that are granted to others. Is it permitted to worship God in the Roman manner? Let it be permitted to do it in the Geneva form also. Is it permitted to speak Latin in the market place? Let those that have a mind to it be permitted to use it also in church. Is it lawful for any man in his own house to kneel, stand, sit or use any other posture; and to clothe himself in white or black, in short or long garments? Let it not be made unlawful to eat bread, drink wine or wash with water in the church. In a word, whatsoever things are left free by law in the common occasions of life, let them remain free unto every church in divine worship. . . . If solemn assemblies, observations of festivals, public worship be permitted to any sort of [religious] professors, all these things ought to be permitted to the Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, Arminians, Quakers, and others with the same liberty. Nay, if we may openly speak the truth, and as becomes one man to another, neither pagan, nor Mahometan, nor Jew ought to be excluded from the civil rights of the commonwealth because of his religion.

Locke was severely criticized. He later issued two more letters on toleration and was at work on a fourth when he died. The difficult problem of liberty has been adjusted in modern times by proclaiming in the constitution of a state the freedom of speech and of the press and complete religious toleration, but with reservations in regard to the abuse of such liberty. These give an excuse in periods of excitement, especially war time, for special laws and police interference in the alleged interests of good order. So it is clear that the ideals of both Milton and Locke have been largely realized, at least in name.

Holland, the Thinkers' Asylum

The little country of Holland, after it had freed itself from Spanish rule, became a conspicuous place of refuge for thinkers of various nationalities, who found themselves uncomfortable

and nervous at home. The earliest and most famous of these intellectual refugees was Descartes, a Frenchman, who after some experience of a soldier's life at the opening of the Thirty Years' War, and some travels in foreign parts, settled there in 1628. He had an extraordinary confidence in reason, and in the preliminary to its exercise, doubt. He wrote a celebrated little book called a *Discourse on the Method of Rightly Conducting the Reason and Seeking Truth in the Sciences* (Leyden, 1637). This opens as follows:

> Good sense is, of all things among men, the most equally distributed; for everyone thinks himself so abundantly provided with it that even those who are the most difficult to satisfy in everything else do not usually desire a larger measure of this quality than they already possess. And in this it is not likely that all are mistaken: the conviction is rather to be held as testifying that the power of judging aright and of distinguishing truth from error, which is properly called good sense or reason, is by nature equal in all men; and that the diversity of our opinions, consequently, does not arise from some being endowed with a larger share of reason than others, but solely from this, that we conduct our thoughts along different ways and do not fix our attention on the same objects.

Reason is, in short, the trait that distinguishes men from the brutes, and Descartes was disposed to believe "that it is to be found complete in each individual." While few today would agree that reason, like the heart or the liver, is tolerably uniform in all healthy human beings, this doctrine of Descartes helps to account for the conception of reason in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, now pretty generally discarded.

But Descartes was much impressed with the fact that, as children, we get so many false impressions before we enjoy "the entire use of reason" that it is essential in later life to doubt everything and make a fresh start. When he tried this experiment himself, he found that he could not doubt that he was *thinking* and, consequently, *existing—cogito ergo sum.*

This conclusion he took as a starting point. Then he found in his mind, he professed, the undoubtable idea of a "being, omniscient, all-powerful, and absolutely perfect," which could not result from any experience he had had of the evil and imperfect things of life. But perfection implied existence; and therefore we had imprinted upon our minds the image of God, in which intuitive reason forced us to believe, as we are forced to believe mathematical propositions. And a good God would not mislead us if we took pains to doubt all uncertain things and cling to the clear ideas, which were God-sanctioned. Accordingly Descartes could neglect past knowledge even more ruthlessly than Bacon and rely upon the findings of a well-conducted reason.

Descartes's democratic conception of reason led him to write his *Discourse* in his mother tongue.

> If I write in French, which is the language of my country, in preference to Latin, which is that of my preceptors [namely the Jesuits, under whom he studied as a boy], it is because I expect that those who make use of their unprejudiced natural reason will be better judges of my opinions than those who give heed to the writings of the ancients only.

Descartes's scientific investigations, especially his work in mathematics, brought him much fame. He was greatly affected by Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood—to him a typical instance of scientific reasoning which suggested certain embryological studies on his part. He also devised the use of coördinates for plotting curves, which one meets in analytical geometry.

For a century Descartes had many followers—the Cartesian school (from Cartesius, his Latinized name). Of these the most important was Spinoza, a Portuguese Jew, who had been brought to Holland as a boy. Spinoza ground lenses for a living, and meditated on deep matters as he smoked his pipe in the evening. In his memorable treatise on *Ethics* (completed

in 1674) he shows the influence of Descartes, in giving his discussion of God and of man's duty the form of a treatise on geometry—*Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata.* All is set forth in rigid axioms, propositions, proofs, and corollaries. In spite of its arid form this book contains many wise reflections and still appeals to mystical souls.

In his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) Spinoza urges that freedom of thought is essential in all free commonwealths. He studied the Old Testament, and opened the era of the critical study of ancient Jewish literature. Matthew Arnold, in his efforts to encourage a critical conception of the Bible in the latter part of the nineteenth century, finds himself going back to Spinoza, who, for instance, rejected the belief that Moses wrote the books attributed to him.

A Protestant from Geneva, Le Clerc, was also reconsidering the Bible and pointed out many important things previously neglected. Le Clerc saw clearly that the various parts of the Bible took on a new aspect when viewed historically and from the standpoint of the time and place in which they were written. He brought the current discoveries and speculations of the thinkers together in a sort of serial publication such as we should call a "review," which was carried on for many years from 1686 to 1726 in several series. John Locke, a friend of Le Clerc, contributed to it.

Further contributions to the free criticism of the past were made by Pierre Bayle, a Protestant who, when Louis XIV was getting ready to revoke the Edict of Nantes, found it more comfortable in Holland. His discussion of toleration took the form of a treatise on the words in the Gospel according to Luke: "And the lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled."

Bayle's chief work was an encyclopædia in several massive volumes, *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1696), in which he claimed the right to tell freely the good things which heretics

had done and to recall, without any excuse, and apologies, the evil and scandalous actions of the Christian heroes, whether related of Old Testament characters or of the Church Fathers. He also maintained that as a historian he had a right to discuss sympathetically the views of pagans and heretics. His observations on "the good morals of some persons who had no religion cannot," he says, "any ways prejudice the true Christian faith." Bayle also, like Le Clerc, published a periodical, *News from the Republic of Letters*, a newly conceived commonwealth to which all willing to exercise their minds might belong. Bayle, like his contemporary Shaftesbury, tended to disassociate conduct from religion and to show that the acceptance of Christian beliefs or their rejection had no necessary effect on righteousness, since other than religious ideas often determine human actions.

Ancients and Moderns

In the year 1687 Charles Perrault read a poem, "The Century of Louis the Great," before the French Academy. Perrault claimed that the age of Louis XIV was quite as remarkable as that of Pericles or Augustus; in some respects much more enlightened. Ancient times, he concluded, justified our respect; but however great the men of old, we need not worship nor bend our knee at the mention of their names. They were, after all is said, men like ourselves.[1] Perrault's verses raised a storm of protest on the part of those who admired the classic form adopted by the great French writers of the time. The dispute spread to England and explains the only contribution to the controversy which may be said still to survive; namely, Swift's *Battle of the Books*, published in 1697.

[1]La belle antiquité fut toujours vénérable.
Mais je ne crus jamais qu'elle fût adorable.
Je vois les anciens sans plier genoux;
Ils sont grands, il est vrai, mais hommes comme nous.

Were the works of Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Demosthenes, Cicero, Virgil, Horace, really so unapproachable in excellence that no modern writer could hope to equal or excel them? Were the languages of the Greeks and Romans superior in dignity and charm to any modern language? Were the scientific discoveries and the moral and political speculations of the Greeks and Romans more profound than any contributed by later writers? These were the issues, and the answers given varied with the tastes and the prejudices of the litigants. The general question could hardly arise so long as the old books were actually and obviously more numerous and better written than any modern ones. The most enthusiastic defender of things modern could hardly urge that, with the exception of, let us say, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Rabelais, much had been produced in the modern tongues up to the latter part of the sixteenth century which would be relished by generations to come as would the "classics." But with the appearance of Montaigne, Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Racine, Molière, and some others, it began to look as if modern classics could be produced, and as if writers of genius might utilize the modern languages to equal or transcend the best in the older literatures.

Montaigne's *Essays* (1580–1588) exhibit a skeptical attitude toward the ancients as well as in regard to everything else.[1] He admits that Cicero bores him terribly. As for the divine Plato, Montaigne excuses his "sacrilegious boldness" in finding the *Dialogues* often dull and heavy. Aristotle, "the god of scholastic theology," may be as false as another. Seneca labors too hard, and Plutarch is sometimes absurd. "Authority alone has power to work upon common understandings, and it is of more weight in a foreign tongue." Although Montaigne had been taught Latin before French, and stuffs his essays with Latin quotations, he felt that while Greek and

[1] Montaigne's *Essays* were done into English by Florio and were published in 1601. They had an influence on Shakespeare.

Latin are great ornaments, "we buy them too dear." "I would first understand my own language and that of my neighbors, with whom most of my business and conversation lies." He heartily approved translations.

We have seen that Bacon and Descartes both threw off their respect for ancient science. Bacon recalls that even Plato reports the verdict of an Egyptian priest who remarked that the Greeks were "always boys, without antiquity of knowledge or knowledge of antiquity." Descartes concluded in later life "that it is no longer the duty of an ordinary, well-disposed man to learn Greek and Latin any more than it is to know the languages of Switzerland and Brittany." As for Thomas Hobbes, he was very contemptuous of all older speculations in regard to government. He saw little use in the dead languages. It was once essential to know them, he thought, in order to expose the Roman Catholic Church; but since the Bible is in English, he says: "I can see no great need of Latin, Greek and Hebrew. I should think myself better qualified by understanding well the languages of our neighbors, French, Dutch, Italian." Of course the defenders of the ancient tongues might urge that all these writers had been reared on the classics. This did not hold, however, of the mightiest of all, Shakespeare, who apparently knew very little Latin.

One of the books which attracted Swift's darts of sarcasm was William Wotton's *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694). The writer was a great linguist and well equipped by knowledge and temperament to deal fairly with the question raised by Perrault in France. He points out the superiority of modern achievement, with the possible exception of sculpture, but adds shrewdly that "if some of the most excellent of modern pieces should be preserved fifteen hundred or two thousand years, or tinged with some chemical water that could in a short time make them appear antique," they might be regarded with the same admiration as the old statues.

Richard Bentley (1662–1742) is generally regarded as the

most conspicuous among the founders of modern classical scholarship. His most noted piece of criticism was his elaborate proof that the edifying letters long attributed to a Sicilian despot, Phalaris (who lived in the time of the prophet Jeremiah), were only an awkward forgery concocted centuries after the tyrant's death, and full of stupid anachronisms. The classical scholars of his day resented the necessity of revising their notion of Phalaris; so Bentley was disliked not simply on account of his criticism but also for his bad manners. Swift holds him up to ridicule along with Wotton, in his *Battle of the Books*. To read this book in view of what has been here recalled is the easiest way to get into the fight between ancients and moderns.

The very long-lived and witty Fontenelle (1657–1757) devoted no inconsiderable part of his century on earth to proclaiming the superiority of the moderns over the ancients. His *New Dialogues of the Dead* (1683) might make even the most touchy classicist smile. He introduces both ancient and modern interlocutors. Socrates inquires of Montaigne, "What! have not men by this time shaken off the follies of Antiquity"; Cortes reproaches Montezuma for believing the Spaniards to be gods; Montezuma replies that this mistake was no more foolish than the superstitions of the Athenians, and the holy chickens at Rome, whose appetite determined the policy of the Republic. A few years later Fontenelle summarized and ordered up his arguments in a *Digression on the Ancients and Moderns*.[1]

Today the Battle of the Books has become the "classical" question in our schools and colleges. Is the study of Latin and Greek essential to the best education? Are the works of the Greeks and the Romans the best preparation for life, or, on the other hand, should modern science, modern languages, and

[1] The whole story here reviewed, along with an account of Fontenelle's contributions, is to be found arranged with skill and learning in *The Battle of the Books in its Historical Setting* (1920), by Professor Anne Elizabeth Burlingame.

modern literature be given the preference? Many defenders of the classics admit that students rarely sufficiently master either of the dead languages to read with much pleasure or profit the works of Greeks or Romans, but contend that the effort to learn provides a discipline or training superior to all others. This contention is a modern invention which played no part in the discussion as long as Latin and Greek were so successfully taught that they enabled students to read books in these languages and even to speak and to write them. One who is still in doubt in regard to the classical question will find it profitable to turn back to the struggle between the ancients and moderns in the days of Swift and Fontenelle.[1]

Voltaire

In the year 1726 there landed in England a young and gifted Frenchman who was to become the great prophet of free criticism in all lands. Voltaire, who was then thirty-two years old, had already deserted the older religious beliefs and was consequently ready to follow enthusiastically the more radical of the English thinkers, who discussed all matters with a frankness which filled him with astonishment. He became an ardent admirer of the teachings of Newton, whose stately funeral he attended shortly after his arrival. He regarded the discoverer of universal gravitation as greater than an Alexander or a Cæsar, and did all he could to popularize Newton's work in France. "It is to him who masters our minds by the force of truth, not to those who enslave men by violence; it is to him who understands the universe, not to those who disfigure it, that we owe our reverence."

Voltaire was deeply impressed by the Quakers, their simple life and their hatred of war. He was delighted with the Eng-

[1] The claim that a study of ancient grammar, mathematics, logic, or any other subject will train the mind *in general* is regarded as baseless by many modern psychologists and educationists.

lish philosophers, especially with the views of Locke.[1] He thought Pope's "Essay on Man" the finest moral poem ever composed, he admired the English liberty of speech and writing, and he respected the general esteem for the merchant class. In France, he said

> The merchant so constantly hears his business spoken of with disdain that he is fool enough to blush for it; yet I am not sure that the merchant who enriches his country, gives orders from his counting-house at Surat or Cairo, and contributes to the happiness of the globe is not more useful to a state than the thickly-bepowdered lord who knows exactly what time the king rises and what time he goes to bed, and gives himself mighty airs of greatness while he plays the part of a slave in the ministers' ante-room.

Voltaire proceeded to enlighten his countrymen by a volume of essays in which he set forth his impressions of England; but the high court of justice (the *parlement*) of Paris condemned these *Letters on the English* to be publicly burned, as scandalous and contrary alike to good manners and to the respect due to the principalities and powers. In this way they furnished one more illustration of the need of such men as Voltaire, who was to become, during the remainder of a long life, the chief advocate throughout Europe of unremitting reliance upon reason and of confidence in enlightenment and progress. And since a great part of the institutions of his day were not based

[1] Locke rejected the notion of the Cartesians, that man was born with certain divinely implanted ideas, and maintained that we owe all that we know to the sensations and impressions which come to us from without. Locke was a man of extraordinary modesty, good sense, and caution; and he and his gifted successor, Bishop Berkeley, did much to found modern psychology by helping to rid the world of certain meaningless abstractions and encouraging the careful study of our own mental processes, to which so much attention is now being given. Berkeley's *New Theory of Vision* is a clear account of the gradual way in which we learn to see. He shows that a blind man if suddenly restored to sight would make little or nothing of the confused colors and shapes which would first strike his eye. He would learn only from prolonged experience that one set of colors and contours meant a man, and another a horse or a table, no matter how readily he might recognize the several objects by touch.

upon reason but upon mere tradition, and were often quite opposed to common sense, "the touch of reason was fatal to the whole structure, which instantly began to crumble." His keen eye was continually discovering some new absurdity in the existing order, which, with incomparable wit and literary skill, he would expose to his eager readers. He was interested in almost everything; he wrote histories, dramas, philosophic treatises, romances, epics, and innumerable letters to his innumerable admirers. The vast range of his writings enabled him to bring his bold questionings to the attention of all sorts and conditions of men, not only to the general reader but even to the careless playgoer.

While Voltaire was successfully inculcating free criticism in general, he led a relentless attack upon the most venerable, probably the most powerful, institution in Europe, the Roman Catholic Church. The absolute power of the king did not trouble him; but the Church, with what appeared to him to be its deep-seated opposition to a free exercise of reason and its hostility to reform, seemed fatally to block all human progress. He was wont to close his letters with the exhortation "Crush the infamous thing." The clergy fully realized that they never had encountered a more deadly enemy. Not only was Voltaire supremely skillful in his varied methods of attack, but there were thousands of both the thoughtful and the thoughtless ready to applaud him; for not only was he always brilliant and entertaining in his diatribes, but many of his readers had reached the same conclusions, although they might not be able to express their thoughts so persuasively as he.[1]

Voltaire was scandalized not only by what he regarded as the gloomy superstitions of the Church, its cruel intolerance,

[1] Voltaire repudiated the beliefs of the Protestant churches as well as of the Roman Church. He was, however, no atheist, as his enemies—and they have been many and bitter—have so often asserted. He believed in God, and at his country home near Geneva he dedicated a temple to him. Like many of his contemporaries, he was a deist and held that God had revealed himself in nature and in our own hearts, not in Bible or Church.

and the hateful conflicts over seemingly unimportant matters of belief, but he held that it exercised a pernicious control over the government. In his famous *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, a little volume of witty essays on a variety of themes which he published anonymously in 1764, he maintains that no law of the Church should have the least force unless expressly sanctioned by the government; that all ecclesiastics should be subject to the government, should pay taxes like everyone else, and should have no power to deprive a citizen of the least of his rights on the ground that he is a sinner, "since the priest, himself a sinner, should pray for other sinners, not judge them." Marriage should be entirely under the control of the civil government; and the shameful custom, as he calls it, of paying a part of the clergy's revenue to a "foreign priest," namely, the Pope, should no longer be maintained. But the *parlement* of Paris condemned the book to be burned, on the ground that it defended license and incredulity, that it attacked all that was sacred in religious teachings, mysteries, and authority, and that the writer gloried in sinking to the level of the brutes and dragging others down.

Were there space at command a great many good things, as well as plenty of bad things, might be told of this extraordinary man. He was often superficial in his judgments and sometimes jumped to unwarranted conclusions. He saw only the evil in the Church and seemed incapable of understanding all that it had done for mankind during the bygone ages. He maliciously attributed to evil motives teachings which were accepted by the best and loftiest of men. He bitterly ridiculed even the holiest and purest aspirations, along with the alleged deceptions of the Jesuits and the quarrels of the theologians.

He could and did, however, fight bravely against wrong and oppression. The abuses which he attacked were in large part abolished by the Revolution. It is unfair to notice only Voltaire's mistakes and exaggerations, as many writers, both Catholic and Protestant, have done, for he certainly did more

than anyone else to prepare the way for the great and permanent reform of the Church, as a political and social institution, in 1789–1790. "When the right sense of historical proportion is more fully developed in men's minds," John Morley writes, "the name of Voltaire will stand out like the names of the great decisive movements in the European advance, like the Revival of Learning or the Reformation. The existence, character, and career of this extraordinary person constituted in themselves a new and prodigious era."

Diderot and the *Encyclopædia*

Voltaire had many admirers and powerful allies. Among these none were more important than Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and the scholars whom Diderot induced to coöperate with him in preparing articles for a new *Encyclopædia* which should serve to spread among a wide circle of intelligent readers a knowledge of scientific advance and to rouse enthusiasm for reform and progress. An encyclopædia was by no means a new thing. Diderot's plan had been suggested by a proposal to publish a French translation of Chambers's *Cyclopædia*.[1] Before his first volume appeared, a vast *Universal Dictionary* in sixty-four volumes had been completed in Germany. But few people outside of that country could read German in those days, whereas the well-written and popular articles of Diderot and his helpers, ranging from "abacus," "abbey," and "abdication" to "Zoroaster," "Zurich," and "zymology," were in a language that many people all over Europe could understand.

Diderot was one of the broadest, most alert, and genial of the French philosophers. Like Voltaire, he had learned English and had become acquainted with the writings of Bacon, Locke, and some of the more skeptical later writers. Under their influence he prepared a little volume of *Philosophic Thoughts*, in which he urges people to dare to think for them-

[1] This was first published by an English Quaker in 1727, and new editions of it continued to appear from time to time.

selves, since no one should believe that he is honoring God by refusing to use his reason. He asserted that what has never been questioned has never been proved; we must doubt before we have a right to believe. Consequently skepticism, which is only legitimate doubt, leads us on to truth. "It is as hazardous to believe too much as to believe too little." The *parlement* of Paris ordered this book burned; and Diderot was later imprisoned for a time on account of his *Letter on the Blind for the Use of Those Who See*, in which he questioned some of the proofs usually assigned for the existence of God.

In preparing the *Encyclopædia*, Diderot chose for his main collaborator D'Alembert, perhaps the most distinguished mathematician of his age, who was well qualified by his exactness and his special knowledge of the various fields of mathematical investigation to supplement Diderot's efforts. He lived in poverty and independence and refused invitations which came to him from Frederick the Great and later from Catherine of Russia to leave his humble surroundings for a life at court.

The editors endeavored to rouse as little opposition as possible. They respected current prejudices and gave space to ideas and opinions with which they were not personally in sympathy. They furnished material, however, for refuting what they believed to be mistaken notions, and Diderot declared that "time will enable people to distinguish what we have thought from what we have said." But no sooner did the first two volumes appear, in 1752, than the king's ministers, to please the clergy, suppressed them as containing principles hostile to royal authority and religion, although they did not forbid the continuation of the work. The attitude of the clergy led Diderot to exclaim angrily:

> I know nothing so indecent as these vague declamations of the theologians against reason. To hear them, one would suppose that men could only enter into the bosom of Christianity as a herd of cattle enters a stable; and that we must renounce our common sense if we are either to embrace our religion or to remain in it.

As volume after volume appeared, the subscribers increased; but so did the opposition. The Encyclopædists were declared to be a band bent upon the destruction of religion and the undermining of society; the government again interfered, withdrew the license to publish the work, and prohibited the sale of the seven volumes that were already out. D'Alembert was disheartened, and resolved to give up any attempt to carry the work further, although they had only just reached the letter "H." He wrote to Voltaire:

> I am worn out with the affronts and vexations of every kind that this work draws down upon us. The hateful and even infamous satires which they print against us and which are not only tolerated but protected, authorized, applauded, nay, actually commanded, by those in power; the sermons, or rather the alarm bells, that are rung out against us at Versailles in the king's presence . . . all these reasons and some others drive me to give up this accursed work once for all.

Voltaire naturally encouraged the editors to persevere. "We are on the eve of a great revolution in the human mind," he argued, "and it is you to whom we are most of all indebted." He urged Diderot to leave France and seek a country where he could complete his work in peace; but this Diderot refused to do, for he knew that was just what his enemies desired.

Seven years later he was able to deliver the remaining ten volumes to the subscribers in spite of the government's prohibition. Still later eleven volumes of beautiful plates illustrating the various arts, such as weaving, printing, engraving, mining, dyeing, cabinetmaking, surgery, were added. In spite of the denunciation by the clergy of the completed enterprise the government refused to interfere any further.

As one looks through these fine volumes, which may now and then be found in our larger libraries, he is struck with the light which they must have shed upon thousands of matters, great and small, from a lady's headdress to the constitution

of the universe. The peaceful arts received especial attention. Great care was exercised to secure those to write for the *Encyclopædia* who really knew the details of the various trades: an inspector of glassworks dealt with his particular subject, and the article on brewing was assigned to an intelligent brewer.

The *Encyclopædia* attacked temperately but effectively religious intolerance, the bad taxes, the slave trade, and the atrocities of the criminal law; it encouraged men to turn their minds to natural science with all its beneficent possibilities, and this helped to discourage the old interest in theology and barren metaphysics. The article "Legislator," written by Diderot, says:

> All the men of all lands have become necessary to one another for the exchange of the fruits of industry and the products of the soil. Commerce is a new bond among men. Every nation has an interest in these days in the preservation by every other nation of its wealth, its industry, its banks, its luxury, its agriculture. The ruin of Leipzig, of Lisbon, of Lima has led to bankruptcies on all the exchanges of Europe and has affected the fortunes of many millions of persons.

The English statesman John Morley was doubtless right when he said, in his enthusiastic account of Diderot and his companions, that "it was this band of writers, organized by a harassed man of letters, and not the nobles swarming around Louis XV, nor the churchmen singing masses, who first grasped the great principle of modern society, the honour that is owed to productive industry. They were vehement for the glories of peace and passionate against the brazen glories of war."

Montesquieu; Rousseau; Beccaria

Neither Voltaire nor Diderot had attacked the kings and their despotic system of government. Montesquieu (1689–1755), however, while expressing great loyalty to French institutions, opened the eyes of his fellow citizens to the disadvan-

tages and abuses of their government by his enthusiastic eulogy of the limited monarchy of England. In his celebrated work *The Spirit of Laws, or the Relation which Laws should bear to the Constitution of each Country, its Customs, Climate, Religion, Commerce, etc.*, he endeavors to prove from history that governments are not arbitrary arrangements but are the natural products of special conditions and should meet the needs of a particular people at a particular period. England, he thought, had developed an especially happy system.

Montesquieu maintained that the freedom which Englishmen enjoyed was due to the fact that the three powers of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—were not, as in France, in the same hands. Parliament made the laws; the king executed them; and the courts, independent of both, saw that they were observed. He believed that the English would lose their liberties as soon as these powers fell under the control of one person or body of persons. This principle of "the separation of powers" is now recognized in many modern governments, notably in that of the United States.

Through Montesquieu's very readable book many thoughtful people became familiar for the first time with the English Parliament, its division into the House of Commons and the House of Lords, its annual budget which prevented the king from arbitrarily taxing his people; and the *habeas corpus* proceedings which stood in the way of his unjustly imprisoning his subjects, as the king of France could do. And there can be no doubt that English methods of government have exercised the most profound influence in the gradual abolition of the absolute powers of the monarchs upon the Continent.

Next to Voltaire, the writer who did most to cultivate discontent with existing conditions was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). Unlike Voltaire, Diderot, and D'Alembert, he believed that people thought too much, not too little; that we should trust to our hearts rather than to our heads, and might safely rely upon our natural feelings and sentiments to

guide us. He declared that Europe was overcivilized, and summoned men to return to nature and simplicity. His first work was a prize essay written in 1750, in which he sought to prove that the development of the arts and sciences had demoralized mankind, inasmuch as they had produced luxury, insincerity, and arrogance. He extolled the rude vigor of Sparta and denounced the refined and degenerate life of the Athenians.

Later Rousseau wrote a book on education, called *Émile*, which is still famous. In this he protests against the efforts made by teachers to improve upon nature, for, he maintains,

> All things are good as their Author made them, but everything degenerates in the hands of man. . . . To form this rare creature, man, what have we to do? Much doubtless, but chiefly to prevent anything from being done. . . . All our wisdom consists in servile prejudices; all our customs are but anxiety and restraint. Civilized man is born, lives, dies in a state of slavery. At his birth he is sewed in swaddling clothes; at his death he is nailed in a coffin; as long as he preserves the human form he is fettered by our institutions.

Rousseau's plea for the simple life went to the heart of many a person who was weary of complications and artificiality. Others were attracted by his firm belief in the natural equality of mankind and the right of every man to have a voice in the government. In his celebrated little treatise *The Social Contract* he takes up the question By what right does one man rule over others? The book opens with these words:

> Man is born free and yet is now everywhere in chains. One man believes himself the master of others and yet is after all more of a slave than they. How did this change come about? I do not know. What can render it legitimate? I believe that I can answer that question.

It is, Rousseau declares, the will of the people that renders government legitimate. The real sovereign is the people. Although they may appoint a single person, such as a king, to manage the government for them, they should make the laws,

since it is they who must obey them. We shall find that the first French constitution accepted Rousseau's doctrine, and defined law as "the expression of the general will," not the will of a king reigning by the grace of God.

Among all the books advocating urgent reforms which appeared in the eighteenth century, none accomplished more than a little volume by the Italian economist and jurist Beccaria (1738–1794), *Crimes and Punishments*. This exposed with great clearness and vigor the atrocities of the criminal law. The trials (even in England) were scandalously unfair and the punishments incredibly cruel. The accused was not ordinarily allowed any counsel and was required to give evidence against himself. Indeed, it was common enough to use torture to force a confession from him. Witnesses were examined secretly and separately, and their evidence was recorded before they faced the accused. Informers were rewarded, and the flimsiest evidence was considered sufficient in the case of atrocious crimes. After a criminal had been convicted he might be tortured by the rack, by thumbscrews, by applying fire to different parts of his body, or in other ways, to induce him to reveal the names of his accomplices. The death penalty was established for a great variety of offenses besides murder; for example, heresy, counterfeiting, highway robbery, even sacrilege. In England there were, according to the great jurist Blackstone, a hundred and sixty offenses punishable with death, including cutting down trees in an orchard, stealing a sum over five shillings in a shop, or stealing more than twelvepence from a person's pocket. Yet in spite of the long list of capital offenses the trials in England were far more reasonable than on the Continent, for they were public and conducted before a jury, and there was no torture used.

Beccaria advocated public trials in which the accused should be confronted by those who gave evidence against him. Secret accusations should no longer be considered. Like Voltaire, Montesquieu, and many others, he denounced the practice of

torturing a suspected person with a view of compelling him by bodily anguish to confess himself guilty of crimes of which he might be quite innocent. As for punishments, he advocated the entire abolition of the death penalty, on the ground that it did not deter the evildoer as life imprisonment at hard labor would, and that in its various hideous forms—beheading, hanging, mutilation, breaking on the wheel—it was a source of demoralization to the spectators. Punishments should be less harsh, but should be more certain and more carefully proportioned to the danger of the offense to society. Nobles and magistrates convicted of crime should be treated exactly like offenders of the lowest class. Confiscation of property should be abolished, since it brought suffering to the innocent members of the criminal's family. It was better, Beccaria urged, to prevent crimes than to punish them; and this could be done by making the laws very clear and the punishments for their violation very certain, but, above all, by spreading enlightenment through better education.

The Birth of Modern Political Economy

About the middle of the eighteenth century a new social science was born; namely, political economy. Scholars began to investigate the sources of a nation's wealth, the manner in which commodities were produced and distributed, the laws determining demand and supply, the function of money and credit, and their influence upon industry and commerce. Before the eighteenth century these matters had seemed unworthy of scientific discussion. Few suspected that there were any "laws" or general causes underlying the varying amount of wheat that could be bought for a shilling, or the rate of interest that a bank could charge. The ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome had despised the tiller of the soil, the shopkeeper, and the artisan, for these indispensable members of society at that period were commonly slaves. The contempt

for manual labor had decreased in the Middle Ages; but the learned men who studied theology or pondered over Aristotle's teachings in regard to "form" and "essence" never thought of considering the effect of the growth of population upon serfdom, or of an export duty upon commerce, any more than they tried to determine why milk soured more readily in warm weather than in cold, or why a field left fallow regained its fertility.[1]

Although ignorant of economic laws the governments had come gradually to regulate more and more both commerce and industry. We have seen how each country tried to keep all the trade for its own merchants by issuing elaborate regulations and restrictions, and how the king's officers enforced the monopoly of the guilds. Indeed, the French government, under Colbert's influence, fell into the habit of regulating well-nigh everything.

At the opening of the eighteenth century statesmen, merchants, and such scholars as gave any attention to the subject believed that the wealth of a country could be greatly increased by government regulation and encouragement, just as in the United States today it is held by the majority of citizens that the government can increase prosperity and improve the conditions of the wage-earners by imposing high duties upon imported articles. It was also commonly believed that to be really prosperous a country must export more than it imported, so that foreign nations would each year owe it a cash balance which would have to be paid in gold or silver and in this way increase its stock of precious metals. Those who advocated using the powers of government to encourage and protect shipping, to develop colonies, and to regulate manufactures are known as "mercantilists."

[1] The medieval philosophers and theologians discussed, it is true, the question whether it was right or not to charge interest for money lent, and what might be a "just price." But both matters were considered as ethical or theological problems rather than in their economic aspects.

About the year 1700, however, certain writers in France and England reached the conclusion that the government did no good by interfering with natural economic tendencies which it did not understand and whose workings it did not reckon with. They argued that the government restrictions often produced the worst possible results; that industry would advance far more rapidly if manufacturers were free to adopt new inventions instead of being confined by the government's restrictions to old and discredited methods; that in France the government's frantic efforts to prevent famines by making all sorts of rules in regard to selling grain only increased the distress, since even the most powerful king could not violate with impunity an economic law. So the new economists rejected the formerly popular mercantile policy. They accused the mercantilists of identifying gold and silver with wealth, and maintained that a country might be prosperous without a favorable cash balance. In short, the new school advocated "free trade." A French economist urged his king to adopt the motto *Laissez faire* (Let things alone) if he would see his realms prosper.

The leading economist of France in the eighteenth century was Turgot, who, as head of the government for a brief period, made, as we shall see, an unsuccessful effort to remedy the existing abuses.[1] He argued that it would be quite sufficient if

> The government should always protect the natural liberty of the buyer to buy and of the seller to sell. For the buyer being always the master to buy or not to buy, it is certain that he will select among the sellers the man who will give him at the best bargain the goods that suit him best. It is not less certain that every seller, it being his chief interest to merit preference over his competitors, will sell in general the best goods and at the lowest price at which he can make a profit in order to attract customers. The merchant or manufacturer who cheats will be quickly discredited and lose his custom without the interference of government.

[1] See pages 209 ff., below.

The first great systematic work upon political economy was published by a Scotch philosopher, Adam Smith, in 1776. His *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* became the basis of all further progress in the science. He attacked the doctrines of the mercantilists and the various expedients which they had favored,—import duties, bounties, restrictions upon exporting grain, and so on,—all of which he believed "retard instead of accelerating the progress of society toward real wealth and greatness; and diminish instead of increasing the real value of the annual produce of its labor and land." In general he agreed with Turgot that the State should content itself with protecting the property of traders and business men and seeing that justice was done; but he sympathized with the English navigation laws, although they obviously hampered commerce, and was not as thoroughgoing a free trader as many of the later English economists.

While the economists in France and England by no means agreed in details, they were at one in believing that it was useless and harmful to interfere with what they held to be the economic laws.[1] They brought the light of reason to bear, for example, upon the various bungling and iniquitous old methods of taxation then in vogue, and many of them advocated a single tax which should fall directly upon the landowner. They wrote treatises on practical questions, scattered pamphlets broadcast, and even conducted a magazine or two in the hope of bringing home to the people at large the existing economic evils.

The so-called Laissez-faire school of the later eighteenth century found many ardent adherents in the early part of the nineteenth. They are sometimes called the "classical" or "Manchester" group. Their contention that governments should keep their hands off business was met by a counterplea that the evils accompanying the introduction of the

[1] Modern economists are much more careful than the earlier ones in proclaiming economic tendencies to be "laws"; but the older imprudence is still to be noted among partisans of all classes.

factory system could only be remedied by legislation. Many of the assumptions of the earlier economists have been called in question, and they are now seen to have been more dogmatic than conditions justified. It was of course impossible for them to forecast the strange developments of the age of machinery and the problems that it would bring with it (see Chapter XXXIII, below).

It is clear from what has been said that the eighteenth century was a period of unexampled advance in general enlightenment. New knowledge spread abroad by the Encyclopædists, the economists, and writers on government—Turgot, Adam Smith, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Beccaria, and many others of lesser fame—led people to see the vices of the existing system and gave them at the same time new hope of bettering themselves by abandoning the mistaken beliefs and imperfect methods of their predecessors. The spirit of reform penetrated even into kings' palaces, and we must now turn to the prevailing conditions in the eighteenth century and the attempts to better affairs made by the more enlightened rulers of Europe.

CHAPTER XXVI

MEDIEVAL SURVIVALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY; REFORMING DESPOTS

Development of the Idea of Progress

A thoughtful observer in the eighteenth century would easily have discovered many medieval institutions which had persisted in spite of the considerable changes that had taken place in conditions and ideas during the previous five hundred years. Serfdom, the guilds, the feudal dues, the nobility and clergy with their peculiar privileges, the declining monastic orders, the confused and cruel laws,—these were a part of the heritage which Europe had received from what was coming to be regarded as a dark and barbarous period. People began to be keenly alive to the deficiencies of the past and to look to the future for better things, even to dream of progress beyond the happiest times of which they had any record. They came to feel that the chief obstacles to improvement were the outworn institutions, the ignorance and prejudices of their forefathers, and that if men could only be freed from this incubus they would find it easy to create new and enlightened laws and institutions to suit their needs.

This attitude of mind seems natural enough in our progressive age, but two centuries ago it was distinctly new. Mankind has in general shown an unreasoning respect and veneration for the past. Until the opening of the eighteenth century the former times were still held to have been better than the present; for the evils of the past were little known, whereas those of the present were, as always, only too apparent. Men looked backward rather than forward. They

hardly aspired to fight as well or to be as saintly or to write as good books or to paint as beautiful pictures as the great men of old. That they might excel the achievements of their predecessors rarely occurred to them. Knowledge was sought not by studying the world about them, but in some ancient authority. Men's ideals had hitherto centered in the past, and improvement seemed to them to consist in reviving, so far as possible, the "good old days."

It was mainly to such thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as have been mentioned in the preceding two chapters that the Western world owed its first hopes of future improvement. It is they who have shown that the ancient writers were mistaken about many serious matters and had at best a very imperfect notion of the world. They have gradually robbed men of their old blind respect for the past, and by their discoveries have pointed the way to indefinite advance, so that now we expect constant change and improvement and are scarcely astonished at the most marvelous inventions. It was to them that the modern *idea of general progress*, scarcely perceptible in Greek and Roman times and during the Middle Ages, owes its origin.

All the great hopes of human perfectibility cherished by the elated and optimistic thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries find their fullest expression in Condorcet's *Historical Sketch of the Progress of the Human Mind*, written in 1794. Its writer was a great admirer and stanch friend of Voltaire, Turgot, and D'Alembert, and belonged to the French Academy. In his story of human advance he ascribes its slow and halting character to the evil influences of priests and kings. But some day man would overcome the bad laws and institutions which had so long prevented him from realizing his great possibilities. All countries would eventually become free and would live on terms of equality and friendliness. Inequality as it existed between men and women would vanish; and instead of constraint and hypocrisy, inspired by religious

terrors and the fear of dishonor, there would be only "arrangements voluntarily entered into, inspired by nature and sanctioned by reason."

The more enlightened peoples would, Condorcet thought, "assert the right to determine for themselves how their blood and treasure was to be spent, and would gradually learn to view war as the most fatal disaster and the greatest of crimes." The old warring dynasties would pass away, and it would become apparent that conquest really brought servitude and that permanent federations were the only means of maintaining independence, peace, and security. As knowledge advanced, education would be constantly improved until it would be easy for the young to master fully what it had required great geniuses in previous ages to discover. Finally, men would learn to live long and happily when they applied reason instead of ancient superstition to the conduct of their lives.

The perfectibility of man was, Condorcet maintained, a law established by history.

> And how wonderfully this picture of the human species, freed from its chains, rescued from the control of mere chance and of the enemies of progress, advancing with a firm and sure step along the road of truth, virtue, and happiness, is calculated to console the philosopher when he beholds the errors, crimes, and injustices with which the earth is still befouled and of which he himself is so often the victim.[1]

Condorcet's little book is full of insight, as well as of rather exaggerated hopes.

[1] Condorcet was himself a victim of injustice. As a member of the French Convention he rendered himself unpopular with the extreme terrorists by reason of his independent attitude, and was in hiding in Paris when he wrote his cheerful review of man's past and his hopes for the future. In attempting to escape from Paris he was arrested and thrust into a cell, where he died before being brought to trial.

Condition of the Country People

If a peasant who lived on a manor in the time of the Crusades had been permitted to return to earth and travel about Europe at the close of the Seven Years' War, he would have found much to remind him of the conditions under which, six centuries earlier, he had extracted a scanty living from the soil. On the other hand, an American farmer of today would find great difficulty in understanding the situation of a Prussian peasant even a century ago.

The modern farmer, who either owns his land or leases it from the owner for a certain sum annually and then cultivates it in any way he pleases, with the aid of such men as he may hire to help him, is, in fact, a rather novel thing in the world's history. In the past those who have tilled the soil have commonly been slaves, or half slaves, who worked upon large estates belonging to others. They neither owned nor rented the land in the modern sense of the terms, and yet they often had a certain claim upon it, and so long as they fulfilled their obligations they were not deprived of it (see Vol. I, Chapter XII).

The gradual extinction of serfdom in western Europe appears to have begun as early as the twelfth century, but proceeded at very different rates in various countries. In France the old type of serf had largely vanished by the fourteenth century, and in England a hundred years later. In Prussia, Austria, Poland, Russia, Italy, and Spain, on the contrary, the great mass of the country people were still bound to the soil in the eighteenth century.

Even in France there were still many aggravating traces of the old system. The peasant was, it is true, no longer bound to a particular manor; he could buy or sell his land at will, could marry without consulting the lord, and could go and come as he pleased. Many bought their land outright; others disposed of their holdings and settled in town. But the lord

might still require all those on his manor to grind their grain at his mill, bake their bread in his oven, and press their grapes in his wine press. The peasant might have to pay a toll to cross a bridge or a ferry which was under the lord's control, or a certain sum for driving his flock past the lord's mansion.

In England in the eighteenth century the prominent features of serfdom had disappeared more completely than in France. The services in labor due to the lord had long been commuted into money payments, and the peasant was thus transformed into a renter or owner of his holding. Nevertheless, many traces of feudal dues and restrictions remained in their old form until the nineteenth century. As late as 1809 the town of Manchester had to get the consent of the lord of the manor before it could incorporate a waterworks company; and in 1839 the town of Leeds had to pay thirteen thousand pounds to its former lord to extinguish the old obligation of grinding corn at his mill.

In central, southern, and eastern Europe the medieval system still prevailed: the peasant lived and died upon the same manor and worked for his lord in the same way that his ancestors had worked a thousand years before. Everywhere the same crude agricultural instruments were still used, and most of the implements and tools were roughly made in the village itself. The wooden plows commonly found even on English farms were constructed on the model of the old Roman plow; wheat was cut with a sickle, grass with a scythe, and the cart wheels were supplied with wooden rims only.

The houses occupied by the country people differed greatly from Sicily to Pomerania and from Ireland to Poland; but in general they were small, with little light or ventilation, and often they were nothing but wretched hovels with dirt floors and neglected thatch roofs. The pigs and the cows were frequently better housed than the people, with whom they associated upon very familiar terms, since the barn and the house were commonly in the same building. The drinking-water was

bad, and there was no attempt to secure proper drainage. Fortunately everyone was out of doors a great deal of the time, for the women as well as the men usually worked in the fields cultivating the soil and helping to gather in the crops.

Country life in the eighteenth century was obviously very arduous and unattractive for the most part. The peasant had no newspapers to tell him of the world outside his manor, nor could he have read them had he had them. Even in England not one farmer in five thousand, it is said, could read at all; and in France the local tax collectors were too uneducated to make out their own reports. Farther east conditions must have been still more cheerless, for a Hungarian peasant complains that he owed four days of his labor to his lord, spent the fifth and sixth hunting and fishing for him, while the seventh belonged to God.

The Towns and the Guilds

Even in the towns there was much to remind one of the Middle Ages. The narrow, crooked streets, darkened by the overhanging buildings and scarcely lighted at all by night; the rough cobblestones; the disgusting odors even in the best quarters,—all offered a marked contrast to the European cities of today, which have grown tremendously in the last hundred years in size, beauty, and comfort.

In 1760 London had half a million inhabitants, or about a twelfth of its present population. There were of course no street cars or omnibuses, to say nothing of the thousands of automobiles which now thread their way through the traffic. A few hundred hackney coaches and sedan chairs served to carry those who had not private conveyances and could not, or would not, walk. The ill-lighted streets were guarded at night by watchmen, who went about with lanterns but afforded so little protection against the roughs and the robbers that gentlemen were compelled to carry arms when passing through the streets after nightfall.

Paris was somewhat larger than London and had outgrown its medieval walls. The police were more efficient there, and the highway robberies which disgraced London and its suburbs were almost unknown. The great park, the "Elysian fields," and the boulevards which now form so distinguished a feature of Paris, were already laid out; but in general the streets were still narrow, and there were none of the fine broad avenues which now radiate from a hundred centers. There were few sewers to carry off the water which, when it rained, flowed through the middle of the streets. The filth and the bad smells of former times still remained, and the people relied upon easily polluted wells or the dirty river Seine for their water supply.

In Germany very few of the towns had spread beyond their medieval walls. They had, for the most part, lost their former prosperity, which was still attested by the fine houses of the merchants and of the once flourishing guilds. Berlin had a population of about two hundred thousand, and Vienna slightly more.

Even the famous cities of Italy,—Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome,—notwithstanding their beautiful palaces and public buildings, were, with the exception of water-bound Venice, crowded into the narrow compass of the town wall, and their streets were narrow and crooked.

Another contrast between the towns of the eighteenth century and those of today lay in the absence of the great wholesale warehouses, the vast factories with their tall chimneys, and the attractive department stores which may now be found in every city from Dublin to Budapest. Commerce and industry were in general conducted upon a very small scale, except at the great ports like London, Antwerp, or Hamburg, where goods coming from and going to foreign lands were brought together.

A great part of the manufacturing still took place in little shops where the articles when completed were offered for sale. Generally all those who owned the several shops carrying on a

particular trade, such as tailoring, shoemaking, baking, tanning, bookbinding, hair-cutting, or the making of candles, knives, hats, artificial flowers, swords, or wigs, were organized into a guild,—a union,—the main object of which was to prevent all other citizens from making or selling the articles in which the members of the guild dealt.

This guild system had, as has been indicated, originated in the Middle Ages and was consequently hundreds of years old. In England the term of seven years was required for apprenticeship in all the staple trades, although the rule was by no means universally enforced. In France the guilds were more powerful than in England, since they had been supported and encouraged by Colbert, who believed that they kept up the standard of French products. In Germany the organization was much stricter and more widespread than in either England or France. Old regulations concerning apprenticeship and the conduct of the various trades were still enforced. No master could have more than one apprentice, manage more than one workshop, or sell goods that he had not himself produced.

The guilds not only protected themselves against workmen who opened a shop without their permission, but each particular trade was in more or less constant disagreement with the other trades as to what each might make. The goldsmiths were the natural enemies of all who used gold in their respective operations, such as the clock and watch makers, the money changers, and those who set precious stones. Those who dealt in natural flowers were not allowed to encroach upon those who made artificial ones. One who baked bread must not make pies or cakes. The tailor who mended clothes must not permit himself to make new garments.

The guilds differed from the modern trade-unions in several important respects. In the first place, it was only the master workmen, who owned the shops, tools, or machines, who belonged to the guilds. The apprentices and journeymen, that is, the ordinary workmen, were excluded and had no influence

whatever upon the policy of the organization. In the second place, the government enforced the decisions of the guilds. For example, in Paris, if it were learned that a journeyman goldbeater was working for himself, a representative of the guild betook himself to the offender's house, accompanied by a town officer, and seized his tools and materials, after which the unfortunate man might be sent to the galleys for three years or perhaps get off with a heavy fine, imprisonment, and the loss of every chance of ever becoming a master. Lastly, the guilds were confined to the old-established industries, which were still carried on, as they had been during the Middle Ages, on a small scale in the master's house.

In spite of the seeming strength of the guilds, however, they were really giving way before the entirely new conditions which had arisen. Thoughtful persons disapproved of them on the ground that they hampered industry and prevented progress by their outworn restrictions. In many towns the regulations were evaded or had broken down altogether, so that enterprising workmen and dealers carried on their business as they pleased. Then, since only the old industries were included in the guild system, the newer manufactures, of silk and cotton goods, porcelain, fine glassware, and the like, were independent of the old guilds.

The Nobility

Not only had the medieval manor and the medieval guilds maintained themselves down into the eighteenth century, but the successors of the feudal lords continued to exist as a conspicuous and powerful class which enjoyed various privileges and distinctions denied to the ordinary citizen. They were, it is true, shorn of the great power that the more important dukes and counts had enjoyed in the Middle Ages, when they ruled over vast territories, could summon their vassals to assist them in their constant wars with their neighbors, and dared defy even the authority of the king himself.

The story has been told in Volume I of the ways in which the English, French, and Spanish kings gradually subjugated the turbulent barons and brought the great fiefs directly under royal control. Suffice it to say that the monarch met with such success that in the eighteenth century the nobles no longer held aloof, but eagerly sought the king's court. Those whose predecessors had once been veritable sovereigns within their own domains, had declared war even against the king, coined money, made laws for their subjects, and meted out justice in their castle halls, had by the eighteenth century deserted their war horses and laid aside their long swords; in their velvet coats and high-heeled shoes they were contented with the privilege of helping the king to dress in the morning and attending him at dinner. The battlemented castle, once the stronghold of independent chieftains, was transformed into a country residence where, if the king honored the owner with a visit, the host was no longer tempted, as his ancestors had been, to treat him as an enemy and shower arrows and stones upon the royal intruder.

In England the feudal castles had disappeared earlier even than in France, and the English law did not grant to anyone, however long and distinguished his lineage, special rights or privileges not enjoyed by every freeman. Nevertheless there was a distinct noble class in England. The monarch had formerly been accustomed to summon his earls and some of his barons to take counsel with him, and in this way the peerage developed; this included those whose title permitted them to sit in the House of Lords and to transmit this honorable prerogative to their eldest sons. But the peers paid the same taxes as did every other subject and were punished in the same manner if they were convicted of an offense. Moreover, only the eldest surviving son of a noble father inherited his rank, whereas on the Continent all the children became nobles. In this way the number of the English nobility was greatly restricted, and their social distinction roused little antagonism.

In Germany, however, the nobles continued to occupy very much the same position which their ancestors held in the Middle Ages. There had been no king to do for all Germany what the French kings had done for France; no mighty man had risen strong enough to batter down castle walls and bend all barons, great and small, to his will. The result was that there were in Germany in the eighteenth century hundreds of nobles dwelling in strong old castles and ruling with a high hand domains which were sometimes no larger than an American township. They levied taxes, held courts, coined money, and maintained standing armies of perhaps only a handful of soldiers.

In all the countries of Europe the chief noble was of course the monarch himself,[1] to whose favor almost all the lesser nobles owed their titles and rank. He was, except in England, always despotic, permitting the people no share in the management of the government and often rendering them miserable by needless wars and ill-advised and oppressive taxes. He commonly maintained a very expensive court, and gave away to unworthy courtiers much of the money which he had wrung from his people. He was permitted to imprison his subjects upon the slightest grounds and in the most unjust manner. Nevertheless he usually enjoyed the loyalty and respect of all classes of his subjects, who were generally ready to attribute his bad acts to evil councilors.

On the whole the king had earned his position. He it was who had destroyed the power of innumerable lesser despots and created something like a nation. He had put a stop to the private warfare and feudal brigandage which had disgraced the Middle Ages. By consolidating his realms and establishing a regular system of government, he prepared the way for the

[1] All the European countries were monarchies in the eighteenth century except the half-monarchical Poland, Venice, Genoa, United Netherlands, Switzerland, and the tiny republics of San Marino in Italy and of Andorra in the Pyrenees.

European state of today in which the people are accorded by written constitutions control of the lawmaking and disposition of the public revenue.

The State and Religion

No inconsiderable space was devoted in Volume I to the attitude of the State toward religion and the Church from the days of Constantine and Theodosius the Great to those of Louis XIV and William III of England. This attention is amply justified by the fact that only since the seventeenth century has the new idea emerged, and finally largely prevailed, that religious beliefs and practices should be (as Locke, for example, urged) private, not public matters. Most modern constitutions proclaim the freedom of religious worship from government interference. This is one of the most important and surprising events of the past two centuries. More of the problems that faced reformers in the eighteenth century and even the nineteenth are explained by the medieval Church (described in earlier chapters, especially Chapter XI), and by the survival of its claims, than by even the feudal and manorial systems. To summarize the traditional ideas:

All the subjects of the western European rulers were required by law to be faithful to the Church, and heretics were regarded as worse than murderers or traitors, and when convicted and impenitent were executed by the state. Before the Protestant revolt all western Europe was under the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. The Church had its own courts and prisons, raised its own revenue, and had vast landed possessions. It had the characteristics of a monarchical state. Its head claimed to be empowered to annul the laws of the civil rulers under certain circumstances. Its officials, the clergy, were often the chief advisers and ministers of the kings.

There were four great issues between Church and State: Should the secular rulers have a right to forward the appoint-

ment of their supporters and favorites to rich ecclesiastical offices? How far could the king tax the lands and other possessions of the clergy? Should his subjects be permitted to appeal to the Pope instead of having their lawsuits decided within the realm by the king's courts? Lastly, How far should the head of the Church be permitted to interfere directly in the affairs of government when he believed the ruler to be a wicked man who was leading his subjects to eternal perdition?

It may be said in general that the Pope has always continued to claim all the authority which any of his predecessors, or the theologians, have at any time attributed to the Roman see. He has not, however, exercised it in its plenitude, sometimes because he was unable to enforce his will, sometimes because he judged it best, in the interest of the Church, to make exceptions and concessions in special agreements with various Catholic rulers. He did not thereby surrender, however, any of the imposing prerogatives which he believed that God had vested in him as the successor of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, to whom the right of loosing and binding upon earth and in heaven was granted by Christ himself.

The popes have, through the centuries, been forced to accept many insults and some personal violence from princes who, although they believed the Pope to be the divinely appointed head of the Church, nevertheless protested against his interference in secular matters. As we have seen in Volume I the German emperors fought with him over the question of patronage, which was a vital matter to them; Philip the Fair of France, about the year 1300, engaged in a bitter controversy with Boniface VIII over the king's right to tax the property of the clergy. Fifty years later the English Parliament forbade any representative of the Pope bearing a papal appointment to an English benefice to enter the kingdom. No one was to appeal to the Pope in such matters; and to act under the Pope's authority, except with the king's special permission, was declared a crime punishable with death.

Yet the gradual reduction of the powers of the clergy was due not so much to violent altercations with the papacy as to peaceful arrangements; for example, those by which the clergy undertook to make "free gifts" to the king of France, or the Pope agreed to share his patronage with the Emperor, allowing him to fill the benefices which fell vacant every other month. In 1516 the Pope agreed to permit the French kings to nominate archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and pledged himself to appoint the king's candidates, if suitable men, on the understanding that he should receive a contribution, called the *annates*, from each benefice which was so filled.

As to the important controversy over lawsuits, the king had always stoutly maintained his right to try all cases involving land, since that was certainly a purely worldly matter. Then the king's lawyers claimed many other cases on the ground that their religious aspects were merely incidental, and thus brought a great part of the matrimonial cases and those concerning contracts and wills into the king's tribunals. The "benefit of clergy," as their right to be tried by their own courts was called, was also steadily reduced in one way or another. In England many new laws were passed whose violation was made felony "without benefit of clergy." In France the same end was reached rather more indirectly. Moreover, the French and English kings regarded as laws only such of the papal decrees as they had ratified, and they permitted no lands to be given to the Church without their permission.

After several great Church congresses, known as general councils, had vainly attempted in the fifteenth century (Vol. I, Chapter XVI) to remedy the abuses that had grown up in the Church and limit the general powers of the Pope, a considerable portion of northern Europe finally revolted from the papacy altogether; namely, northern Germany, Norway and Sweden, England, Scotland, the Dutch Netherlands, and parts of Switzerland. The Protestant rulers of these countries re-

fused longer to recognize the Pope except as an Italian prince. They took matters boldly into their own hands, adopted new doctrines (which they usually imposed upon their subjects), confiscated the property of the monasteries, and scattered the monks and nuns. They brought all the property of the Church under their control and used such part of it as they saw fit to support the particular form of Christianity which they professed. Nevertheless, even in Protestant lands many vestiges of the old system still remained in the eighteenth century, especially in England.

After the Protestant revolt representatives of the clergy from the countries which still remained Catholic—France, Italy, Spain, Austria, and southern Germany—assembled at Trent, where prolonged sessions were held from 1545 to 1563 to consider once more the reform of the Church. This Council of Trent is memorable in the history of Europe. Its decrees, far more numerous and detailed than those of any previous council, provided a new and solid basis for the doctrines and law of the Roman Catholic Church. The old doctrines were ratified and the Protestant innovations declared accursed. Certain abuses were corrected, but all attempts to limit the power of the Pope failed, since his delegates really guided the deliberation of the council. Some of the Catholic princes were disappointed in the results, and the French courts refused to sanction the council's decrees.

The Question of the Jesuits and Ultramontanism

The most conspicuous and effective defenders of the medieval claims of the Pope were the Jesuits. To this order and its extraordinary teachers, missionaries, and explorers references have been made earlier (Vol. I, pp. 463 ff.). The Jesuits were naturally abhorred in Protestant countries, where they were popularly believed to be unscrupulous in working for their ends. Even in Catholic countries there were many thoughtful

persons who disapproved of their tendency to exalt the papal prerogatives at the cost of the rights of the bishops and of the king. Thus the Jesuits came to be regarded as the chief defenders of what was known in France, Germany, and Austria as *ultramontanism*.

The ultramontane, or "beyond-the-mountain," party was so called by its enemies because it looked across the Alps into Italy for the source of authority, and attributed to the bishop of Rome all the powers over churches and governments throughout Christendom which he had asserted during the Middle Ages. The doctrines of the Jesuits were opposed in France by the so-called Gallican, or national, party, which maintained that the authority of the Pope was supreme only in religious matters, and that even in those it was subordinate to that of a general council of Christendom.

In 1682 the old trouble between the French king and the Pope in regard to filling certain benefices had once more arisen, and Louis XIV summoned an assembly of the French clergy. They approved a statement drawn up by the famous Bishop Bossuet and known as the Declaration of Gallican Liberties of 1682. This aimed to define in a general way the limits of the spiritual and temporal powers as they were interpreted in France. The first article declared:

> Saint Peter and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ, and even the Church as a whole, have been granted authority from God only in spiritual matters and those which have to do with salvation, and not in temporal or civil affairs; that accordingly the kings and princes are, at God's command, subject (as princes) to no ecclesiastical authority in temporal matters; they may not be deposed directly or indirectly by the Church, and their subjects may not be released from their obedience to them or freed from their oath of fidelity.[1]

[1] Other articles added that a general council was superior to the Pope, and that only such decrees of the Pope should be observed as had been accepted everywhere or had been sanctioned by the French government and by the French national church.

The Declaration of Gallican Liberties helped later to spread and consolidate the opposition to the extreme papal claims and the doctrines of the Jesuits. A German scholar, Hontheim, associated with the archbishop of Treves, wrote an elaborate Latin treatise *On the Present State of the Church and the Legitimate Powers of the Roman Pontiff.* This he published in 1763, under the assumed name of Justinus Febronius, with the lively hope that the Pope would accept his views. Hontheim brought forward evidence to show that the Church was not properly a monarchy, and that all the bishops had originally enjoyed the same powers as the bishop of Rome, who, he declared, owed his exaltation mainly to certain forged documents —namely, the pseudo-Isidorian decretals—which some unknown person had invented in the ninth century. The Church had, it is true, made the Pope its head in spiritual matters, but he remained subordinate to a general council. In short, Febronius defended the Gallican liberties and advocated the general adoption in Catholic countries of the policy pursued by France.

His book was immediately condemned by the Pope, who declared that to undermine the papacy, which was the very foundation of the Church, was to destroy the Church itself. Nevertheless the work was translated into German, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, and became a sort of handbook for the princes who were aiming to limit the activities of the clergy and their head. It served to emphasize once more the contrast between the ultramontane theory and that of those Catholics who wished to have the various national churches retain a certain independence of the central papal government.

The Jesuits, who defended the papal power in all its plenitude, became increasingly unpopular with all the Catholic rulers. Their business enterprises in foreign lands aroused the jealousy of the merchants. Portugal was the first country to expel the members of the order in 1759. Charles III of Spain —an ardent reformer, as we shall see—followed Portugal's

example six years after. In France a long controversy had raged between the Jansenists and Jesuits,[1] and the *parlement* of Paris decided in 1762 on the dissolution of the order in France, and Louis XV reluctantly agreed. Then such pressure was brought to bear on the Pope that he abolished the order altogether (1773) on the ground that it had outgrown its usefulness. The order of Jesus was, however, reëstablished in 1814 and has regained some of its former importance.

In spite of the changes which had overtaken the Church since the Middle Ages, it still retained its ancient external appearance in the eighteenth century: its gorgeous ceremonial, its wealth, its influence over the lives of men, its intolerance of those who ventured to differ from the conceptions of Christianity which it believed to be its duty to impose upon everyone. The ecclesiastical courts still tried many cases, in spite of the widening jurisdiction of the royal judges. The Church could fine and imprison those whom it convicted of blasphemy, contempt of religion, or heresy. The clergy managed the schools and saw to it that the children were brought up in the orthodox faith. Hospitals and other charitable institutions were under their control. They registered all births and deaths, and only the marriages which they sanctified were regarded by the State as legal. The monasteries still existed in great numbers and owned vast tracts of land. A map of Paris made in 1789 shows no less than sixty-eight monasteries and seventy-three nunneries within the walls. The clergy still forced the laity to pay the tithe, as in the Middle Ages, and still enjoyed exemption from the direct taxes.

[1] One finds many references to Jansenists and Jesuits in the books of the eighteenth century. As early as 1640 Cornelius Jansen issued a book called *Augustinus*, Calvinistic in tone, which was attacked by the Jesuits, and its reading forbidden by the Pope. Pascal wrote his famous *Provincial Letters* to discredit the Jesuits. In 1713 the Pope in the bull *Unigenitus* condemned one hundred and one propositions in a Jansenist work and ordered all those who refused to accept the bull to be cast out of the Church. This led to a sort of schism between the clergy who supported the Gallican liberties and rejected the bull Unigenitus and those who sided with the Pope and the Jesuits.

Intolerance and Censorship

Both the Catholic Church and the Protestant sects (in the beginning) were very intolerant, and in this they were usually supported by the government, which was ready to punish or persecute those who refused to conform to the state religion, whatever it might be, or who ventured to speak or write against its doctrines. There was none of that freedom which is so general now and which permits a man to worship or not as he pleases, and even to denounce religion in any or all its forms without danger of imprisonment or loss of citizenship or death.

In France, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, Protestants had lost all civil rights. According to a decree of 1724 those who assembled for any form of worship other than the Roman Catholic were condemned to lose their property; the men were to be sent to the galleys and the women to be imprisoned for life. The preachers who convoked such assemblies or performed Protestant ceremonies were punishable with death; yet but few executions took place, for happily the old enthusiasm for persecution was abating. None the less all who did not accept the Catholic teachings were practically outlawed, for the priests would neither recognize the marriages nor register the births and deaths over which they were not called to preside. This made it impossible for Protestants to marry legally and have legitimate children, or to inherit or devise property. A royal proclamation in 1712 forbade physicians to visit such sick people as refused to call in a Catholic confessor, and the kings still pledged themselves in their coronation oaths to extirpate heretics.

Books and pamphlets were carefully examined to see if they contained any attacks upon the orthodox Catholic beliefs or might in any way serve to undermine the authority of the Church or of the king. The king of France, as late as

1757, issued a declaration establishing the death penalty for those who wrote, printed, or distributed any work which appeared to be an attack upon religion. A considerable number of the most enlightened books issued in France in the eighteenth century were condemned either by the clergy or by the king's courts and were burned by the common hangman, or suppressed. Not infrequently the authors, if they could be discovered, were imprisoned.

This did not check speculation, however, and books attacking the old ideas and suggesting reforms in Church and State constantly appeared and were freely circulated.[1] The writers took care not to place their names or the name of the publisher upon the title-page, and many such books were printed at Geneva or in Holland, where great freedom prevailed.

In Spain, Austria, and Italy, however, and especially in the Papal States, the clergy, particularly the Jesuits, were more powerful and enjoyed more privileges than in France. In Spain the censorship of the press, together with the Inquisition, constituted a double bulwark against change until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In Germany the position of the Church varied greatly. The southern states were Catholic; Prussia and the northern rulers had embraced Protestantism. Many of the archbishops, bishops, and abbots ruled as princes over their own lands and made the best arrangements they could with the Pope.

The Peculiar Religious Situation in England

The development of the Anglican established church has been described in earlier chapters (Vol. I, pp. 444 ff., 448 ff., 504 ff.). The various classes of "dissenters" which arose could not be forced to conform, in spite of the numerous laws passed from the time of Elizabeth to that of James II. Representatives of these sects fled to Holland and North America, where

[1] See the previous chapter.

their beliefs were perpetuated.[1] To the older sects—Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists (in England the most numerous of all)—were added, through the preaching of George Fox, beginning in 1647, the Society of Friends, or Quakers, as they were commonly called. They were the first group to denounce war on principle.

Nearly a hundred years after the origin of the Quakers the Methodists developed; although the last of the great Protestant churches, it became very important indeed, especially in the United States. Its founder, John Wesley (1703–1791), when at Oxford had organized a group of students, and their piety and regularity of habits brought them the nickname of "Methodists." After leaving the university Wesley spent some time in the colony of Georgia and then returned to England, where he suddenly experienced "conversion" in 1738. He was suddenly assured, he says in his journal, that Christ had taken away "my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." So sudden "conversion" came to be a prominent feature in the new beliefs. At first the English Methodists regarded themselves as an integral part of the Anglican Church. In 1784, however, the American followers of Wesley founded the Methodist Episcopal Church, and not long after Wesley's death the English Methodists established an independent organization.

Parliament under Charles II showed itself very intolerant toward all Dissenters. The arguments, however, of Milton, Locke, and many other writers on toleration expressed a growing distrust of intolerance. Upon the accession of William

[1] It may be noted here that the Catholics found a refuge in America from their Protestant persecutors as did the Huguenots who fled from the oppression of the Catholic government in France. The colony of Maryland was founded by Lord Baltimore in 1634 and named after the French wife of Charles I. In the nineteenth century the number of Catholics in the United States was vastly increased by immigration from Ireland, Italy, and other countries, so that there are toward sixteen millions today who have been baptized into the Roman Catholic Church.

and Mary an Act of Toleration was passed in 1689 which permitted Dissenters to hold meetings; but "Papists and such as deny the Trinity" (namely, Unitarians) were explicitly excluded, so England still continued to maintain a somewhat intolerant system in the eighteenth century. Even if the Dissenters were permitted to hold services in their own way, they were excluded from government offices unless they accepted the Thirty-nine Articles; nor could they obtain a degree at the universities. Only the members of the Anglican Church could hold a benefice. Its bishops had seats in the House of Lords, and its priests enjoyed a social preëminence denied to the dissenting ministers. Those who clung to the Roman Catholic faith, to the Pope and the Mass, were forbidden to enter England. The celebration of the Mass was strictly prohibited. All public offices were closed to Catholics, and of course they could not sit in Parliament.

The ecclesiastical tribunals still tried matrimonial cases and those concerned with wills. But one who published a book or a pamphlet did not have to obtain the permission of the government, as in France, and nowhere, except perhaps in Holland, was there such unrestrained discussion of scientific and religious matters at this period as in England. England, in the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century, was the center of critical thought, from which, as has been explained, the French philosophers and reformers drew their inspiration.

The English Origin of the Idea of Constitutional Government

Great Britain exhibited certain peculiarities in its system of government which were destined to make it the model for the constitutional systems introduced into European states in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century it differed in many striking respects from the rule of Continental sovereigns. Frederick the Great and Louis XV could fix the

amount of taxes and decide who should pay them without asking the consent, or even the advice, of any of their subjects. They could borrow all the money that bankers would lend them and could spend it as they pleased without giving any account of it. The British king, on the contrary, could impose no taxes and could borrow no money upon the credit of the nation without the sanction of Parliament; and a definite amount—the so-called *civil list*—was assigned to him as an allowance with which to maintain his royal establishment, defray his personal expenses, and pay the salaries of important governmental officials.

The rulers on the Continent could make any change in the laws by a simple edict. In Great Britain the monarch could neither issue a new law nor suspend an old one without the consent of Parliament. Even the right which he had formerly enjoyed, of vetoing bills passed by Parliament, was exercised for the last time by Queen Anne in 1707.

On the Continent the monarch could remove judges who made decisions which did not please him; in England, since 1701, the judges have held their positions during good behavior, unless removed on request of both Houses of Parliament. The English king could not arbitrarily arrest his subjects or call before his own council, to be decided by himself personally, cases which were being tried in the regular courts. The Habeas Corpus Act of 1679 provided that anyone who was arrested should be informed of the reason and should be speedily tried by a regular tribunal and dealt with according to the law of the land. In France there were none of these restrictions placed upon the king, who could arrest his subjects on *lettres de cachet*, could imprison them indefinitely without assigning a reason, and could interfere in any suit and decide it as he chose.

The English Parliament, which had originated in the thirteenth century, was by no means unique in the Middle Ages. In France, about 1300, the Estates General had come to be

made up of representatives of the three classes of the realm, —nobles, clergy, and the "third estate," or townspeople,— and similar assemblies existed in Spain and Germany. But all these bodies, and others of the same kind, gradually lost all their importance, with the sole exception of the English Parliament. This had, from the middle of the fourteenth century, consisted of two Houses. The higher nobility (dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons), together with the prelates (archbishops, bishops, and abbots[1]), sat in the House of Lords. Accordingly the representatives of the nobles and the clergy were not separated, as they often were on the Continent. In the "lower" chamber, the House of Commons, there were not only representatives of the towns but those chosen by the landed proprietors of the counties, thus giving the lesser landholders a voice in the nation's councils.

Remarkable as was the English Parliament in the eighteenth century for its organization and its power to control the king, it nevertheless represented only a small part of the nation. In the Middle Ages, when the towns were small and the country population tolerably evenly scattered, the House of Commons fairly represented the property owners throughout England; but as time went on no effort was made to readjust the apportionment to meet the changes which gradually took place. Many towns dwindled away and some disappeared altogether. On the other hand, great cities, like Manchester and Birmingham, grew up which had no representatives. As a result the great majority of the English people had no more share in the government than had the subjects of Louis XV. In 1768 there were only one hundred and sixty thousand voters, although the whole population of Great Britain amounted to some eight million.

Despite the small number who could actually participate in the choice of representatives, political questions were hotly discussed among the upper classes, who were divided into

[1] The abbots disappeared when Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries.

two well-defined parties—Tories and Whigs. These owed their origin to the excitement of the civil war, when those who supported Charles I were called "Cavaliers," and those who opposed him, "Roundheads." During the latter years of Charles II the former party, which upheld the divine right of kings and the supremacy of the Anglican Church, received the name of "Tory." Their opponents, who advocated the supremacy of Parliament and championed toleration for the Dissenters, came to be called "Whigs."[1]

After the death of Anne many of the Tories favored calling to the throne the son of James II (popularly called "the Old Pretender"), whereupon the Whigs succeeded in discrediting their rivals by denouncing them as Jacobites[2] and traitors. They made the new Hanoverian king, George I, believe that he owed everything to the Whigs, who, for a period of nearly fifty years, under George I and George II, were able to control Parliament. George I himself spoke no English, was ignorant of British politics, and was much more interested in Hanover than in his new kingdom. He did not attend the meetings of his ministers, as his predecessors had done, and turned over the management of affairs to the Whig leaders. They found a skillful "boss" and a judicious statesman in Sir Robert Walpole, who maintained his own power and that of his party by avoiding war and preventing religious dissensions at home. He used the king's funds to buy the votes necessary to maintain the Whig majority in the House of Commons and for getting his measures through that body. He was England's first "prime minister."

The existence of two well-defined political parties standing for widely different policies forced the king to choose all his ministers from either one or the other. The more prominent

[1] Not until after the reform of 1832 did the Tories become "Conservatives," and the Whigs assume the name of "Liberals."

[2] This name applied to the supporters of James is derived from the Latin form of his name, *Jacobus*.

among his advisers came gradually to form a little group which resigned together if Parliament refused to accept the measures they advocated. So the English rulers from the time of William III were generally compelled to select their ministers from the party which had a majority in Parliament; otherwise their plans would be pretty sure to be frustrated. In this way "cabinet government" originated; that is, government by a small group of the heads of departments (like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the First Commissioner of the Admiralty, and the like) who belong to the party which has a majority in Parliament, or at least in the House of Commons, and who resign together when "defeated" on any important proposal.

Walpole secured a cabinet which he could control. He declared that it, not the king, was really responsible for the whole conduct of the government while its members remained in office. Moreover, he frankly confessed that he owed his continuance in power not to the king, but to the House of Commons. In a debate he said: "When I speak here as a minister I speak as possessing my powers from his Majesty, but as being answerable to this house for the exercise of those powers." And so it came about that Parliament acquired the right not only to grant taxes and make laws but to force the king to turn over the conduct of the government to ministers who enjoyed its approval.

Nevertheless, after Walpole's fall, in 1742, cabinet government did not flourish for a generation or so, especially under George III, who came to the throne in 1760, for he proposed to follow his mother's advice: "George, be king." Indeed, many thoughtful men felt that Walpole had been what we should call nowadays a corrupt boss, and accordingly they encouraged the king to keep the government in his own hands. During the war with the American colonies George III was practically his own prime minister and freely resorted to what he called "golden pills" to cure those who opposed him and to gain a majority in the House of Commons.

George III, in spite of his exalted notion of his royal prerogatives, could not revive any general enthusiasm for absolute monarchy. Indeed, during the latter half of the eighteenth century the people at large began to pay attention to political questions, to draw up petitions, and to hold large meetings in which they demanded that all adult males, rich and poor alike, should be permitted to vote for members of the House of Commons.

The newspapers, which had become common in England as the eighteenth century advanced, freely discussed politics in a way absolutely unknown on the Continent. John Wilkes, the editor of the *North Briton*, who held that the members of Parliament were merely delegates of the people and were, like the ministers, accountable to them, ventured in 1763 to describe George III's speech at the opening of Parliament as "the most abandoned instance of political effrontery." This enraged the king and his ministers who, while they could not shut up the obnoxious journalist as Louis XV would have done, had him prosecuted for libel in a regular court. Though Wilkes was found guilty of the charge, his cause was so popular that riots broke out in his favor. He stood for Parliament and was elected twice by a large majority. Although he was expelled both times he was allowed to take his seat when the excitement had died away.

So the real victory lay with Wilkes, and, except in times of danger, the government did not seriously interfere with political criticism. Accordingly there was an increasing number of writers to point out to the people the defects in the English system. They urged that every man should have the right to participate in the government by casting his vote, and that the British constitution should be reduced to writing and so made clear and unmistakable. Political clubs were founded, which entered into correspondence with radical societies that sprang up in France after 1789. Newspapers and pamphlets poured from the press, and reform found champions in the House of

Commons. But the violence and disorder which accompanied the French Revolution involved Great Britain in a long and tedious war and discredited reform with Englishmen who had previously favored change, to say nothing of the Tories, who regarded with horror any proposal to modify the venerated English constitution.

The Enlightened Despots of the Eighteenth Century

It happened in the eighteenth century that there were several remarkably intelligent monarchs: Frederick II of Prussia, Catherine the Great of Russia, Emperor Joseph II and his brother Leopold (grand duke of Tuscany), and Charles III of Spain. These rulers read the works of the reformers and planned all sorts of ways in which they might better the conditions in their realms by removing old restrictions which hampered the farmer and the merchant, by making new and clearer laws, by depriving the clergy of wealth and power which seemed to them excessive, and by encouraging manufactures and promoting commerce.

These monarchs are commonly known as the "enlightened" or "benevolent" despots. They were no doubt more "enlightened" than the older kings; at least they all read books and associated with learned men. But they were not more "benevolent" than Charlemagne or Canute or St. Louis or Henry IV, all of whom, as well as many other European monarchs of earlier centuries, had believed it their duty to do all they could for the welfare of their people. On the other hand, the monarchs of the eighteenth century were certainly despots in the full sense of the word. They held that all the powers of the State were vested in them, and they had no idea of permitting their subjects any share in the government.

Frederick the Great declared that the monarch was merely the chief servant of the State. He worked very hard himself, rose early, and traveled about to investigate conditions and

watch his officials. He was Prussia's chief general, diplomat, and administrator. He did not approve of serfdom; he confessed that "the fact that the peasant belongs to the land and is the serf of his lord is revolting to humanity." Nevertheless he made no attempt to abolish the old manorial system. He sanctioned the traditional division of his subjects into three classes or castes: nobles, burghers, and peasants. Everyone was obliged to remain in the class into which he happened to be born, and no noble was allowed to acquire burgher or peasant land, nor any burgher or peasant to get possession of land belonging to either of the other classes.

Frederick was entirely tolerant and welcomed Huguenots and Jesuits with equal cordiality. He declared for no creed and tried to make plain that he regarded all his subjects as on the same footing, whatever their religious beliefs. He had Voltaire's contempt for all doctrinal disputes. He ordered a new code of laws to be drawn up which proclaimed that the whole object of government was the welfare of the people, and that every man had a right to pursue his own interests so long as he did not injure his neighbor. Frederick even believed that it was the duty of the State to care for the poor and unemployed.

In spite of these liberal sentiments the new code empowered the Prussian king to restrain liberty of speech and to interfere with the publication of books and periodicals which happened to be offensive to him. Nor did he supply any way in which his subjects could express an opinion upon the conduct of their government. He maintained most of the ancient institutions and all of the old despotism.

Catherine II of Russia showed herself almost as interested in the philosophers and reformers as did Frederick. She invited Diderot to spend a month with her and was disappointed that D'Alembert would not consent to become the tutor of the grand duke Paul, the heir to the throne. She subscribed for the *Encyclopædia* and bought Diderot's library when he

got into trouble, permitting him to continue to use the books as long as he wished. In her frequent letters to Voltaire she explained to him her various plans for reform.

She read Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* and Beccaria's *Crimes and Punishments*. Under their influence she summoned a great assembly to Moscow in 1766, which represented all the various peoples under her scepter—Russians, Tatars, Kalmucks, Cossacks, Laplanders—as well as the different classes; namely, nobles, townspeople, and peasants. Catherine submitted to this assembly a draft of a new code of laws for Russia, based upon the Western writers, especially Montesquieu and Beccaria. In this she declared that "the nation is not made for the ruler but the ruler for the nation"; "liberty is the right to do anything that is not forbidden by law"; "better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer unjust punishment." Intolerance, religious persecution, and the use of torture were condemned. When war broke out with Turkey the assembly was dismissed without finishing its task.

There was some talk of abolishing serfdom in Russia; but Catherine rather increased than decreased the number of serfs, and she made their lot harder than it had been before by forbidding them to complain of the treatment they received at the hands of their masters. She appropriated the vast property of the churches and monasteries, using the revenue to support the clergy and the monks, and such surplus as remained she devoted to schools and hospitals.

Frederick and Catherine indulged in many fair words, which were a sign of the times, but were careful to make no rash changes. Emperor Joseph II, who, after the death of his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1780, became the ruler of the Austrian realms, actually attempted a wholesale reformation of his dominions. He tried to transform the scattered and heterogeneous territories over which he ruled into a well-organized state in which disorder, confusion, prejudice, fanaticism, and

intellectual bondage should disappear and all his subjects be put in possession of their "natural" rights. Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Poles, Bohemians, and Belgians were all to use the German language in official communications. The old, irregular territorial divisions were abolished, and his realms were divided into thirteen new provinces. All the ancient privileges enjoyed by the towns and the local assemblies were done away with and were replaced by a uniform system of government in which Joseph's own officials enjoyed the control.

Joseph visited France and was personally acquainted with D'Alembert, Rousseau, and Turgot. He also read with approval the work of Febronius attacking the power of the Pope. So it is no wonder that, while he still claimed to be a good Catholic, he undertook a radical reform of the Church. He was heartily opposed to the monks. "The principles of monasticism," he declared, "are in flat contradiction to human reason; monks are the most useless and dangerous subjects that a country can possess." He consequently abolished some six hundred of the monasteries and used their property for charitable purposes and to establish schools. He appointed the bishops without consulting the Pope and forbade money to be sent to Rome. Marriage was declared to be merely a civil contract and so was taken out of the control of the priests. Lutherans, Calvinists, and other heretics were allowed to worship in their own way. The Emperor's object was, in short, to free the Austrian church from the papal control and bring it under his own.

Joseph II sought to complete his work by attacking the surviving features of feudalism and encouraging the development of manufactures. He freed the serfs in Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, and Hungary, transforming the peasants into tenants; elsewhere he reduced the services due from them to the lord. He taxed nobles and clergy without regard to their claims to exemption and supplanted the confused and uncertain laws by a uniform system.

Naturally Joseph met opposition on every hand. The clergy abhorred him as an oppressor, and all who were forced to sacrifice their old privileges did what they could to frustrate his reforms, however salutary they might be. The Netherlands, which he proposed to transform into an Austrian province, finally followed the example of the American colonies and declared themselves independent in 1790. The same year Joseph died, a sadly disappointed man, having been forced to undo almost all that he had hoped to accomplish.

Joseph was followed by his brother Leopold, who, although he had introduced important reforms in the grand duchy of Tuscany, over which he had ruled, deemed it wise to restore the Austrian dominions, so far as possible, to the condition in which they were when Joseph had begun his reckless improvements. In this way he brought back the Netherlands to the Austrian fold and reassured those who had been terrified by the prospect of change.

In Italy Don Carlos, the first Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies,[1] had, like Leopold, striven to improve his very backward kingdom; and when in 1759 he became king of Spain as Charles III, he adopted the career of a reformer in earnest. He began, however, like his fellow monarchs, by excluding the nation from all share in the government. He ignored the national assembly, or *Cortes,* and placed the control of all branches of government in the hands of his own officials.

Like the other Benevolent Despots, Charles III endeavored to increase the wealth of his kingdom by encouraging industry. Domestic manufactures were protected against foreign competition by a tariff. An agricultural college and trade schools were established, and highways, bridges, and canals were constructed. Formerly all ships coming from the American colonies had been required to land their goods either at Seville or at one or two other ports; now all the Spanish ports were thrown open to colonial commerce.

[1] See page 50.

In no respect were Charles's reforms more striking than in his method of dealing with the Church. There were within his realm sixty-six thousand priests and three thousand monasteries with eighty-five thousand monks. The lands of the monasteries and churches amounted to about one fifth of the entire area of Spain. The king strictly limited the right of the Church to acquire more property and subjected its lands to taxation. Although Charles III, like Joseph, regarded himself as a devout Catholic, he adhered to the principles advocated by Febronius, whose book had been translated into Spanish.

Spain had long been proud of its vigilance in defending the purity of its religion. While the Inquisition was no longer so active in the eighteenth century as it once had been, no less than fourteen thousand persons are said to have been convicted by it of more or less grave offenses during the reign of the Bourbon king, Philip V, and nearly eight hundred of these were burned alive. Charles III thought that the Inquisition contributed materially to the maintenance of public morals by condemning wrong teachings and books which were indecent or which attacked the government or religion. Therefore he did not abolish it, but there were only four persons sent to the stake during his reign.

Although the reforms and the criticism of old institutions and anachronisms on the part of the Benevolent Despots seem to have had rather little immediate effect, they shed much light on the development of the French Revolution. It does not seem so abrupt when one realizes that radical reform was in the air and that its necessity was proclaimed by the chief rulers themselves. It was, however, in France, whose sovereign happened to be a well-meaning but indolent and ignorant person compared with Frederick or Catherine, that the changes heralded by the Benevolent Despots were first actually carried out on a generous scale.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, FIRST PHASE

The Inequalities of the *Ancien Régime*

A French historian once remarked that all Frenchmen either love or hate the French Revolution. It was a general reformation which involved men's most precious interests, roused their deepest passions, and was consequently crowded with dramatic events, high ambitions, cruel revenge, statesmanship, and mob fury. It is our business neither to love nor hate it *en bloc*, as has sometimes been supposed to be the duty of Frenchmen, but to understand it as best we can. As a whole it is, with the Russian revolution of the early twentieth century, the most startling of human attempts to alter the whole life of a nation in the twinkling of an eye. Abortive as were many of the changes proclaimed, the history not only of France but of Europe at large was gravely and permanently influenced by the French Revolution. More than any other series of events is it the key to an understanding of the Europe of today.

The Benevolent Despots had not succeeded in ridding Europe of the old institutions and confusion which had come down from the Middle Ages; indeed, there were many things which they had no desire to change. Even in England little was done in the eighteenth century to meet the most reasonable demands of the reformers. But in 1789 the king of France asked his people to submit their grievances to him and to send representatives to Versailles to confer with him upon the state of the realm and the ways in which the government might be improved so as to increase the general happiness and the prosperity of the kingdom. Given its chance, the

French National Assembly swept away the old abuses with an ease and thoroughness which put the petty reforms of the Benevolent Despots to shame. It accomplished more in a few months than the reforming kings had done in centuries.

We have already recalled these institutions which were common to most of the European countries,—despotic kings, arbitrary imprisonment, unfair taxation, censorship of the press, serfdom, feudal dues, friction between Church and State,—all of which the reformers had been busy denouncing as contrary to reason and humanity, and some of which the Benevolent Despots and their ministers had, in a half-hearted way, attempted to remedy. The various relics of bygone times and of outlived conditions which the Revolution abolished forever are commonly called in France the *Ancien Régime* (the old, or former, system). In order to see why France took the lead of other European countries in modernizing itself, it is necessary to examine somewhat carefully the particular causes of discontent there. We shall then see how almost everyone, from the king to the peasant, came to realize that the old system was bad and consequently resolved to do away with it and substitute a new plan of government for the long-standing disorder.

Of the evils which the Revolution abolished, none was more important than the confusion in France due to the fact that it was not in the eighteenth century a well-organized, homogeneous state whose citizens all enjoyed the same rights and privileges. A long line of kings had patched it together, adding bit by bit as they could. By conquest and bargain, by marrying heiresses, and through the extinction of the feudal dynasties, the original restricted domains of Hugh Capet about Paris and Orleans had been gradually increased by his descendants. We have seen how Louis XIV gained Alsace and Strasbourg and some towns on the borders of the Spanish Netherlands and how Louis XV added Lorraine on the death of his father-in-law in 1766. Two years later the island of Corsica was

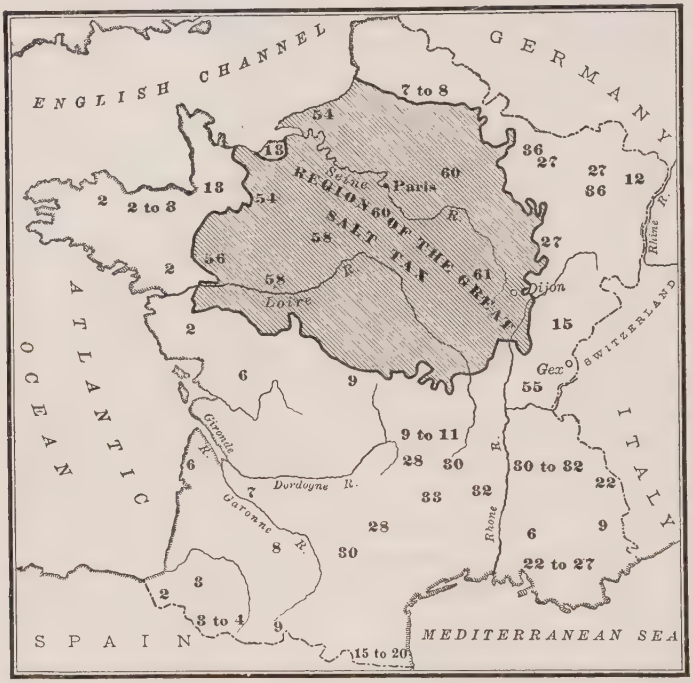
ceded to France by Genoa. So when Louis XVI came to the throne in 1774 he found himself ruler of practically the whole territory which makes up France today.

Some of the districts which the kings of France brought under their sway, like Languedoc, Provence, Brittany, and Dauphiny, were considerable states in themselves, each with

THE PROVINCES OF FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING INTERIOR CUSTOMS LINES

its own laws, customs, and system of government. When these provinces had come, at different times, into the possession of the king of France, he had not changed their laws so as to make them correspond with those of his other domains. He was satisfied if a new province paid its due share of the taxes and treated his officials with respect. In some cases the provinces retained their local assemblies and, to a certain extent,

controlled their own affairs. The provinces into which France was divided before the Revolution were not, therefore, merely artificial divisions created for the purposes of administrative convenience, like the modern French departments, but represented real historical differences of very long standing.



MAP SHOWING THE AMOUNT PAID IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FOR SALT IN VARIOUS PARTS OF FRANCE[1]

Although the Roman law still prevailed in a considerable portion of southern France, in the central parts and in the west and north there were no less than two hundred and eighty-five different local codes of law in force; so that one who moved from his own to a neighboring town might find a wholly unfamiliar legal system.

[1] The figures indicate the various prices of a given amount of salt.

Neither was France commercially a single state. The chief customs duties were not collected upon goods as they entered French territory from a foreign country; for customs lines lay within France itself, so that the central provinces about Paris were cut off from the outlying ones as from a foreign land. A merchant of Bordeaux sending goods to Paris would have to see that the duties were paid on them as they passed the customs line, and, conversely, a merchant of Paris would have to pay a like duty on commodities sent to places without the line.

The monstrous inequalities in levying one of the oldest and heaviest of the taxes, that is, the salt tax (*gabelle*), still better illustrate the strange disorder that existed in France in the eighteenth century. The government collected this form of revenue by monopolizing the sale of salt and then charging a high price for it. There would have been nothing remarkable in this had the same price been charged everywhere; but, as it was, the people in one town might be forced to pay thirty times as much as their neighbors in an adjacent district. The map on page 198 shows how arbitrarily the tax was assessed. To take a single example: in the city of Dijon a certain amount of salt cost seven francs; a few miles to the east, on entering Franche-Comté, one had to pay for the same amount twenty-five francs; a little to the north, fifty-eight francs; to the south, in the region of the little salt tax, twenty-eight francs; and still farther off, in Gex, there was no tax whatever.

Growing Unpopularity of the Privileged Classes

Besides these unfortunate local differences, there were class differences which caused great discontent. Not all Frenchmen enjoyed the same rights as citizens. Two small but very important classes, the nobility and the clergy, were treated differently by the State from the rest of the people; these were the *privilégiés*. They did not have to pay one of the

heaviest of the taxes, the notorious *taille*; and on one ground or another they escaped other burdens which the rest of the citizens bore. For instance, they were not required to serve in the militia or to help in building the roads.

In France, as in other Catholic countries of Europe, the Church still retained in the eighteenth century a considerable part of the power that it had possessed in the thirteenth, and it still performed important public functions. It took charge of education and of the relief of the sick and the poor. It was very wealthy and is supposed to have owned one fifth of all the land in France. The clergy claimed that their property, being dedicated to God, was not subject to taxation. They consented, however, to help the king from time to time by a "free gift," as they called it. The Church still collected the tithes from the people, and its vast possessions made it very independent. Those who did not call themselves Roman Catholics were excluded from some of the most important rights of citizenship. Since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes no Protestant could be legally married, or have the births of his children registered, or make a legal will.

A great part of the enormous income of the Church went to the higher clergy—the bishops, archbishops, and abbots. Since these were appointed by the king, often from among his courtiers, they paid but little attention to their duties as officers of the Church and were generally nothing more than "great lords with a hundred thousand francs income." While they amused themselves at Versailles the real work was performed, and well performed, by the lower clergy, who often received scarcely enough to keep soul and body together. This explains why, when the Revolution began, the parish priests tended to take sides with the people instead of with their ecclesiastical superiors.

The privileges of the nobles, like those of the clergy, had originated in the medieval conditions described in earlier chapters. A detailed study of their rights would reveal many sur-

vivals of the institutions which prevailed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the great majority of the people were serfs living upon the manors. While serfdom had largely disappeared in France long before the eighteenth century, and the peasants were generally free men who owned or rented their land, it was still the theory of the French law that there was "no land without its lord." Consequently the lords still enjoyed the right to collect a variety of time-honored dues from the inhabitants living within the limits of the former manors.

The privileges and dues enjoyed by the nobles varied greatly in different parts of France. It was common for the noble landowner to have a right to a certain portion of the peasant's crops; occasionally he could still collect a toll on sheep and cattle driven past his house. In some cases the lord maintained, as he had done in the Middle Ages, the only mill, wine press, or oven within a certain district, and could require everyone to make use of these and pay him a share of the product. Even when a peasant owned his land, the neighboring lord usually had the right to exact one fifth of its value every time it was sold.

The nobles, too, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of hunting, which was deemed an aristocratic pastime. The game which they preserved for their amusement often did great damage to the crops of the peasants, who were forbidden to interfere with hares and deer. Many of the manors had great pigeon houses, built in the form of a tower, in which there were one or two thousand nests. No wonder the peasants detested these, for they were not permitted to protect themselves against the innumerable pigeons and their progeny, which spread over the fields devouring newly sown seed. These dovecotes constituted, in fact, one of the chief grievances of the peasants.

The higher offices in the army were reserved for the nobles, as well as the easiest and most lucrative places in the Church and about the king's person. All these privileges were vestiges

of the powers which the nobles had enjoyed when they ruled their estates as feudal lords. Louis XIV had, as we know, induced them to leave their domains and gather round him at Versailles, where all who could afford it lived for at least a part of the year.

Only a small part of the nobility in the eighteenth century were, however, descendants of the ancient and illustrious feudal families of France. The greater part of them had been ennobled in recent times by the king, or had purchased or inherited a government office or judgeship which carried the privileges of nobility with it. This fact rendered the rights and exemptions claimed by the nobility even more odious to the people at large than they would otherwise have been. So it is no wonder that there was an ever-growing dislike of the *privilégiés*.

Condition of the Third Estate

Everybody who did not belong to either the clergy or the nobility was regarded as being of the *third estate*. The third estate was therefore nothing more than the nation at large, which was made up in 1789 of about twenty-five million souls. The privileged classes can scarcely have counted altogether more than two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand individuals. A great part of the third estate lived in the country and tilled the soil. Most historians have been inclined to make out their condition as very wretched. They were certainly oppressed by an abominable system of taxation and were irritated by the dues which they had to pay to the lords. They also suffered frequently from local famines. Yet there is no doubt that the evils of their situation have been greatly exaggerated. Thomas Jefferson reports that when he traveled through France in 1787 the country people appeared to be comfortable and that they had plenty to eat. Arthur Young, a famous English traveler who has left us an admirable account of his journeys in France during the years 1787 and

1789, found much prosperity and contentment, although he gives also some forlorn pictures of destitution.

The latter have often been unduly emphasized by historical writers; for it has commonly been thought that the Revolution was to be explained by the misery and despair of the people, who could bear their burdens no longer. If, however, instead of comparing the situation of the French peasant under the old régime with that of an English or American farmer today, we contrast his position with that of his fellow peasant in Prussia, Russia, Austria, Italy, or Spain in the eighteenth century, it will be clear that in France the agricultural classes were really much better off than elsewhere on the Continent. In almost all the other European countries, except England, the peasants were still serfs: they had to work certain days in each week for their lord; they could not marry or dispose of their land without his permission. Moreover, the fact that the population of France had steadily increased from seventeen millions after the close of the wars of Louis XIV to about twenty-five millions at the opening of the Revolution, indicates that the general condition of the people was improving rather than growing worse.

Among the reasons why France was the first among the European countries to carry out a great reform and do away with the irritating survivals of feudalism was the fact, not that the nation was oppressed above all others, but that it was sufficiently free and enlightened to realize the evils and absurdities of the old régime. Mere oppression and misery does not account for a revolution; there must also be active *discontent*; and of that there was a great abundance in France, as we shall see. The French peasant no longer looked up to his lord as his ruler and protector, but viewed him as a sort of legalized robber who demanded a share of his precious harvest, whose officers awaited the farmer at the crossing of the river to claim a toll, who would not let him sell his produce when he wished or permit him to protect his fields from the ravages of the pigeons.

French Despotism and its Limitations

In the eighteenth century France was still the despotism that Louis XIV had made it. Louis XVI once described it very well in the following words:

> The sovereign authority resides exclusively in my person. To me solely belongs the power of making the laws, and that without dependence or coöperation. The entire public order emanates from me, and I am its supreme protector. My people are one with me. The rights and interests of the nation are necessarily identical with mine and rest solely in my hands.

In short, the king still ruled "by the grace of God," as Louis XIV had done. He needed to render account to no man for his governmental acts; he was responsible to God alone. The following illustrations will make clear the dangerous extent of the king's power.

In the first place, it was he who levied each year the heaviest of the taxes, the hated *taille*, from which the privileged classes were exempted. This tax brought in about one sixth of the whole revenue of the state. The amount collected was kept secret, and no report was made to the nation of what was done with it or, for that matter, with any other part of the king's income. Indeed no distinction was made between the king's private funds and the state treasury, whereas in Great Britain the monarch was given a stated allowance. The king of France could issue as many drafts payable to bearer as he wished; the royal officials must pay all such orders and ask no questions. Louis XV is said to have spent no less than seventy million dollars in this irresponsible fashion in a single year.

But the king not only controlled his subjects' purses; he had a terrible authority over their persons as well. He could issue orders for the arrest and arbitrary imprisonment of anyone he pleased. Without trial or formality of any sort a person might be cast into a dungeon for an indefinite period, until the king

happened to remember him again or was reminded of him by the poor man's friends. These notorious orders of arrest were called *lettres de cachet*; that is, sealed letters. They were not difficult to obtain by anyone who had influence with the king or his favorites, and they furnished a particularly easy and efficacious way of disposing of an enemy. These arbitrary orders lead one to appreciate the importance of the provision of Magna Carta which runs: "No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned except by the lawful judgment of his peers and in accordance with the law of the land." Some of the most eminent men of the time were shut up by the king's order, often on account of books or pamphlets written by them which displeased the king or those about him. The distinguished statesman Mirabeau, when a young man, was imprisoned several times through *lettres de cachet* obtained by his father as a means of checking his reckless dissipation.

Yet, notwithstanding the seemingly unlimited powers of the French king, and in spite of the fact that France had no written constitution and no legislative body to which the nation sent representatives, the monarch was by no means absolutely free to do just as he pleased. He had neither the time nor the inclination to carry on personally the government of twenty-five million subjects, and he necessarily and willingly left much of the work to his ministers and the numerous public officials, who were bound to obey the laws and regulations established for their control and guidance.

Next to the king's council the most important governmental bodies were the higher courts of law, the *parlements*. These resembled the English Parliament in almost nothing but name. The French *parlements*—of which the most important one was at Paris, with a dozen more scattered about the provinces—did not, however, confine themselves solely to the business of trying lawsuits. They claimed, and quite properly, that when the king decided to make a new law he must send it to them to be registered, for how, otherwise, could they adjust

their decisions to it? Now although they acknowledged that the right to make the laws belonged to the monarch, they nevertheless often sent a "protest" to the king instead of registering an edict which they disapproved. They would urge that the ministers had abused His Majesty's confidence. They would also take pains to have their protest printed and sold on the streets at a penny or two a copy, so that people should get the idea that the *parlement* was defending the nation against the oppressive measures of the king's ministers.

When the king received one of these protests, two alternatives were open to him: he might recall the distasteful decree altogether or modify it so as to suit the court; or he could summon the *parlement* before him and, in a solemn session (called a *lit de justice*), command it with his own mouth to register the law in its records. The *parlement* would then reluctantly obey; but as the Revolution approached, it began to claim that a decree registered against its will was not valid.

Struggles between the *parlements* and the king's ministers were very frequent in the eighteenth century. They prepared the way for the Revolution, first, by bringing important questions to the attention of the people, for there were no newspapers and no parliamentary or congressional debates to enable the public to understand the policy of the government; secondly, the *parlements* not only frankly criticized the proposed measures of the king and his ministers, but they familiarized the nation with the idea that the king was not really at liberty to alter what they called the "fundamental laws" of the state. By this they meant that there was an unwritten constitution which limited the king's power and of which they were the guardians. In this way they promoted the growing discontent with a government which was carried on in secret and which left the nation at the mercy of the men in whom the king might for the moment repose confidence.

It is a great mistake to suppose that public opinion did not exercise a powerful check upon the king, even under the auto-

cratic old régime. It was, as one of Louis XVI's ministers declared, "an invisible power which, without treasury, guards, or an army, ruled Paris and the court,—yes, the very palace of the king." The latter half of the eighteenth century was a period of outspoken and acrid criticism of the whole existing social and governmental system. Reformers, among whom many of the king's ministers were counted, loudly and eloquently discussed the numerous abuses and the vicious character of the government, which gradually came to seem just as bad to the people of that day as it does to us now.

Although there were no daily newspapers to discuss public questions, large numbers of pamphlets were written and circulated by individuals whenever there was an important crisis, and they answered much the same purpose as the editorials in a modern newspaper. We have already seen how French philosophers and reformers, like Voltaire, Diderot, and Montesquieu, had been heartened by the freedom of speech which prevailed in England, and how industriously they had sown the seeds of discontent in their own country. We have seen how in popular works, in poems and stories and plays, and above all in the *Encyclopædia*, they explained the new scientific discoveries, attacked the old beliefs and misapprehensions, and encouraged progress. Only the most ignorant could escape their influence altogether.

Sometimes the pamphlets and books treated the government, the clergy, or the Catholic religion with such open contempt that either the king or the clergy or the courts felt it necessary to prevent their circulation. The *parlement* of Paris now and then ordered some offensive writing, such as Diderot's *Philosophic Thoughts*, Voltaire's *Handy Philosophic Dictionary*, certain of Rousseau's works, pamphlets defending the Jesuits, and the like, to be burned by the common hangman. The authors, if they could be discovered, were in some cases imprisoned, and the printers and publishers fined or banished; in general, however, the courts satisfied themselves with sup-

pressing the books and pamphlets of which they disapproved. But the attempted suppression only advertised the attacks upon existing abuses, which followed one another in rapid succession. The efforts of the government and the clergy to check free discussion seemed an outrage to the more thoughtful among the citizens, and so promoted rather than prevented the consideration of the weaknesses of the Church and of the king's government.

The economists exposed and brought home to the people the many evils of which their new science took note. The unjust system of taxation, which tended to exempt the richer classes from their fair share of the public burdens; the wasteful and irritating methods of collecting the taxes; the interior customs lines, preventing the easy passage of goods from one part of France to another; the extravagance of the king's household; the pensions granted to undeserving persons; the unsuccessful efforts to control the grain trade,—every evil of the bungling, iniquitous old régime was brought under the scrutiny of the new thinkers, who tested the existing system by what they considered the light of reason and the welfare of the great mass of the people.

Louis XVI as a Benevolent Despot

In 1774 Louis XV died, after a disgraceful reign of which it has not seemed necessary to say much. His unsuccessful wars, which had ended with the loss of all his American possessions and the victory of his enemies in India, had brought France to the verge of bankruptcy; indeed, in his last years his ministers repudiated a portion of the government's obligations. The taxes were already so oppressive as to arouse universal discontent, and yet the government was running behind seventy millions of dollars a year. The king's personal conduct was scandalous, and he allowed his mistresses and courtiers to meddle in public affairs and to plunder the royal treasury for

themselves and their favorites. When at last he was carried off by smallpox, everyone hailed, with hopes of better times, the accession of his grandson and successor, Louis XVI.

The new king was but twenty years old, ill-educated, indolent, unsociable, and very fond of hunting and of pottering about in a workshop, where he spent his happiest hours. He was a well-meaning young man, with none of his grandfather's vices, who tried now and then to attend to the disagreeable business of government and would gladly have made his people happy if that had not required more energy than he possessed. He had none of the restless interest in public affairs that we found in Frederick the Great, in Catherine II, and in his brother-in-law, Joseph II; he was never tempted to rise at five o'clock in the morning in order to read state papers.

His wife was the beautiful Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa. The marriage had been arranged in 1770 with a view of maintaining the alliance which had been concluded between France and Austria in 1756. The queen was only nineteen years old when she came to the throne, light-hearted, and on pleasure bent. She disliked the formal etiquette of the court at Versailles and shocked people by her thoughtless pranks. She rather despised her heavy husband, who did not care to share in the amusements which pleased her best. She did not hesitate to interfere in the government when she wished to help one of her favorites or to make trouble for someone she disliked.

At first Louis XVI took his duties very seriously. It seemed for a time that he might find a place among the Benevolent Despots who were then ruling in Europe. He almost immediately placed the ablest of all the French economists, Turgot, in the most important of the government offices, that of controller general. Turgot was an experienced government official as well as a scholar. For thirteen years he had been the king's representative in Limoges, one of the least prosperous portions of France. There he had had ample opportunity to see the

vices of the prevailing system of taxation. He had made every effort to induce the government to better its methods and had tried to familiarize the people with the principles of political economy. Consequently, when he was put in charge of the nation's finances, it seemed as if he and the conscientious young king might find some remedy for the recognized abuses.

The first and most natural measure was economy, for only in that way could the government be saved from bankruptcy and the burden of taxation be lightened. Turgot felt that the vast amount spent in maintaining the luxury of the royal court at Versailles should be reduced. The establishments of the king, of the queen, and of the princes of the blood royal cost the state annually toward twelve million dollars. Then the French king had long been accustomed to grant "pensions" in a reckless manner to his favorites, and this required nearly twelve million dollars more.

Any attempt, however, to reduce this amount would arouse the immediate opposition of the courtiers, and it was the courtiers who really governed France. They had every opportunity to influence the king's mind against a man whose economies they disliked. They were constantly about the monarch from the moment when he awoke in the morning until he went to bed at night; therefore they had an obvious advantage over the controller general, who saw him only in business hours.

Immediately upon coming into power Turgot removed a great part of the restrictions on the grain trade. He prefaced the edict with a very frank denunciation of the government's traditional policy of preventing persons from buying and selling their grain when and where they wished. He showed that this did not obviate famines, as the government hoped that it might, and that it caused great loss and hardship. If the government would only let matters alone, the grain would always, he claimed, go to those provinces where it was most needed, for there it would bring the best price. Turgot seized this and

every similar opportunity to impress his economic theories upon the minds of the people.

Early in 1776 Turgot brought forward two edicts which could not fail to rouse much opposition. The first of these abolished the guilds, which he declared exercised "a vast tyranny over trade and industry." The king was induced to order that all should be free to exercise any trade or profession that might seem good to them. Turgot was still more interested in abolishing the *corvée*, or forced labor on the roads. This was a tax in the form of work which fell on the peasants. Turgot proposed to substitute for it a tax to be paid by the landholders. Both the clergy and the nobility hotly opposed this reform, on the ground that their privileges exempted them from the *corvée*, which was an ignoble exaction which should fall only upon a peasant. Turgot confessed that his main aim was to begin a great reform of the vicious system of taxation which exempted the privileged classes from the *corvée*, the *taille*, and other contributions which should be borne by everybody according to his capacity.

Turgot forced the *parlement* of Paris to register these edicts; but he had become very unpopular, for each one of his reforms injured a particular class who thereafter became his enemies. The nobles disliked him for substituting the land tax, which fell upon them, for the *corvée*, which only the peasants had borne. The clergy believed him to be a wicked philosopher, for it was known that he had urged the pious Louis XVI, when he took his coronation oath, to omit the pledge to extirpate heresy from his realms. The tradespeople hated him for doing away with the guilds.

The king, although upright and well intentioned, was lazy and not fond of the governmental duties, to which Turgot was always calling his attention. It was much easier to let things go along in the old way; for reforms not only required much extra work but also forced him to refuse the customary favors to those around him. It was not perhaps unnatural that the

discontent of his young queen or of an intimate companion should outweigh the woes of the distant peasant. So Turgot was abruptly dismissed in May, 1776.[1]

Although the privileged classes, especially the courtiers who had the king's ear and the conservative lawyers in the *parlements*, prevented Turgot from carrying out the extensive reforms that he had in mind and even induced the king to restore the guilds and to continue the *corvée*, Turgot's administration nevertheless forwarded the French Revolution. In the preambles to his edicts he carefully explained the nature of the abuses which the king was trying to remedy, and so strove to enlist the sympathy of the public. He proposed that the king should form local assemblies to help him in the government, as otherwise too much power was left in the hands of the king's officials. In short, while Turgot was quite satisfied to have a Benevolent Despot in France so long as the king allowed himself to be led along the path of reform by a wise philosopher and economist, he was anxious to encourage public interest in the policy of the government, and believed it essential to have the people's representatives help in assessing the taxes and in managing local affairs.

Necker, who, after a brief interval, succeeded Turgot, also contributed to the progress of the coming Revolution in two ways: He borrowed vast sums of money to carry on the war which France, as the ally of the United States, had undertaken against Great Britain. This greatly embarrassed the treasury later and helped to produce the financial crisis which was the immediate cause of the Revolution. Secondly, he gave the

[1] An Italian economist, when he heard of Turgot's appointment, wrote to a friend in France: "So Turgot is controller general! He will not remain in office long enough to carry out his plans. He will punish some scoundrels; he will bluster about and lose his temper; he will be anxious to do good, but will run against obstacles and rogues at every turn. Public credit will fall; he will be detested; it will be said that he is not fitted for his task. Enthusiasm will cool; he will retire or be sent off, and we shall have a new proof of the mistake of filling a position like his in a monarchy like yours with an upright man and a philosopher."

nation its first opportunity of learning what was done with the public funds by presenting to the king (February, 1781) a *report* on the financial condition of the kingdom which was publicly printed and eagerly read. There the people could see for the first time how much the *taille* and the salt tax actually took from them, and how much the king spent on himself and his favorites.

Necker was soon followed by Calonne, who may be said to have precipitated the momentous reforms which constitute the French Revolution. Calonne was very popular at first with king and courtiers, for he spent the public funds far more recklessly than his predecessors. But naturally he soon found himself in a position where he could obtain no more money. The *parlements* would consent to no more loans in a period of peace, and the taxes were as high as it was deemed possible to make them. At last Calonne, finding himself desperately put to it, informed the astonished king that France was on the verge of bankruptcy, and that in order to save it a radical reformation of "the whole public order" was necessary. This report of Calonne's may be taken as the beginning of the French Revolution, for it was the first of the series of events that led directly to the calling of a representative assembly which abolished the old régime and gave France a written constitution.

How the Estates General came to be summoned in 1789

Calonne claimed that it was necessary, in order to avoid ruin, "to reform everything vicious in the State." He proposed to reduce the *taille*, to reform the salt tax, to do away with the interior customs lines, to correct the abuses of the guilds, and so on. But the chief reform, and by far the most difficult one, was to force the privileged classes to surrender their important exemptions from taxation. Calonne hoped that if certain concessions were made to them, they might be brought to consent to a land tax which should be levied on the nobility and the

clergy as well as on the third estate. So he proposed to the king that he should summon an assembly of persons prominent in Church and State, called "Notables," to ratify certain changes which would increase the prosperity of the country and bring money enough into the treasury to meet the necessary expenses.

The summoning of the Notables late in 1786 was really a revolution in itself. It was a confession on the part of the king that he found himself in a predicament from which he could not escape without the aid of his people. The Notables whom he selected—bishops, archbishops, dukes, judges, high government officials—were practically all members of the privileged classes; but they still represented the nation, after a fashion, as distinguished from the king's immediate circle of courtiers.

In his opening address (February, 1787) Calonne gave the Notables an idea of the sad financial condition of the country. The government was running behind some forty million dollars a year. He could not continue to borrow, and economy, however strict, would not suffice to cover the deficit.

> What, then, remains to fill this frightful void and enable us to raise the revenue to the desired level? *The Abuses!* Yes, gentlemen, the abuses offer a source of wealth which the State should appropriate, and which should serve to rëestablish order in the finances. . . . Those abuses which must now be destroyed for the welfare of the people are the most important and the best guarded of all, the very ones which have the deepest roots and the most spreading branches. For example, those which weigh on the laboring classes, the pecuniary privileges, exceptions to the law which should be common to all, and many an unjust exemption which can only relieve certain taxpayers by embittering the conditions of others; the general want of uniformity in the assessment of the taxes and the enormous difference which exists between the contributions of different provinces and of the subjects of the same sovereign; the severity and arbitrariness in the collection of the *taille*; the apprehension, embarrassment, almost dishonor, associated with the trade in breadstuffs; the interior customhouses and barriers which make the various parts of the kingdom like foreign countries to one another. . . .

All these evils, which public-spirited citizens had long deprecated, Calonne proposed to do away with forthwith.

The Notables, however, had no confidence in Calonne; most of them were determined not to give up their privileges, and they refused to ratify his program of reform. The king then dismissed Calonne and soon sent the Notables home, too (May, 1787). He then attempted to carry through some of the more pressing financial reforms in the usual way by drawing up edicts and sending them to the *parlements* to be registered.

The *parlement* of Paris resolved, as usual, to make the king's ministry trouble and gain popularity for itself. This time it resorted to a truly extraordinary measure. It not only refused to register two new taxes which the king desired, but asserted that "*Only the nation assembled in the Estates General can give the consent necessary to the establishment of a permanent tax.*" "Only the nation," the *parlement* continued, "after it has learned the true state of the finances, can destroy the great abuses and open up important resources." This declaration was followed in a few days by the respectful request that the king assemble the Estates General of his kingdom.

The refusal of the *parlement* to register the new taxes led to one of the old struggles between it and the king's ministers. A compromise was arranged in the autumn of 1787: the *parlement* agreed to register a great loan, and the king pledged himself to assemble the Estates General within five years. During the early months of 1788 a flood of pamphlets appeared criticizing the system of taxation and the unjust privileges and exemptions enjoyed by a few citizens to the detriment of the great mass of the nation.

Suddenly the *parlement* of Paris learned that the king's advisers were planning to put an end to its troublesome habit of opposing their measures. The ministry proposed to remodel the whole judicial system and to take from the *parlement* the right to register new decrees and consequently the right to

protest. This the *parlement* loudly proclaimed was in reality a blow at the nation itself. The ministers were attacking it simply because it had acknowledged its lack of power to grant new taxes and had requested the king to assemble the representatives of the nation. The ministers, it claimed, were bent upon establishing an out-and-out despotism in which there should no longer be any check whatever on the arbitrary power of the king.

The *parlement* had long been wont to refer to certain "fundamental laws" which formed a sort of unwritten constitution limiting the powers of the king. It now ventured to formulate some of these. It drew up a sort of declaration of rights (May, 1788). Among these were (1) the right of the nation to grant all taxes voluntarily through their representatives in the Estates General; (2) the right of the provinces which had been annexed to France to retain all the liberties which the king had guaranteed to them when they came under his rule, and the right of the local *parlement* in each of these provinces to examine every edict of the king and refuse to register it if it did not conform to the constitutional laws of the province, or violated its rights; (3) the right of the judges to retain their offices no matter how anxious the king might be to dismiss them; (4) the right of every citizen, if arrested, to be brought immediately before a competent court and to be tried only by the regular judges.

This was a very poor and inadequate sketch of a constitution, but it was a definite protest against allowing the king to become an absolute and uncontrolled despot. According to the new edicts, against which the *parlement* of Paris protested, tyrannical ministers might freely make new laws for the whole realm and completely ignore the special privileges which the king had pledged himself to maintain when Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, Brittany, Béarn, Navarre, and other important provinces had originally been added to his kingdom. The cause of the *parlements* seemed the cause of the nation, and

their protest contributed to the excitement and indignation which spread throughout France and which was to continue until the whole system of government was completely reformed.

When the king's commissioners tried to proclaim the edicts which robbed the *parlements* of their right to register new laws, mobs collected and insulted them. At Rennes, in Brittany, they were besieged by the townspeople and had to be protected by soldiers. At Toulouse the mob tore up the pavement to build barricades and prepared to resist the entry of the commissioners. At Bordeaux the new laws were proclaimed under the protection of bayonets. Everywhere there were protests, usually accompanied by disorder.

An assembly was convened at Vizille (near Grenoble, the seat of the *parlement* of Dauphiny) including representatives of the nobility, clergy, and third estate. They denounced the policy of the king's ministers, demanded the speedy convocation of the Estates General, and reiterated the right of the nation to grant all taxes and to be protected from arbitrary punishment. They claimed that they were vindicating the rights of the nation at large, and that they were ready, if necessary, to sacrifice any of their special privileges in the interest of the whole kingdom.

This demonstration in Dauphiny and similar ones in the other provinces forced the king to dismiss the unpopular ministry and to recall Necker, in whom everybody had great confidence. Necker restored the *parlements* to their old power, and as the treasury was absolutely empty, there seemed nothing to do but to call together the representatives of the people. Necker therefore announced that the Estates General would convene early the next year.[1]

[1] The *parlements* immediately lost all their importance. They had helped to precipitate the reform, but they did not sympathize with any change which would deprive the privileged classes, to which their members belonged, of their ancient exemptions. They therefore forfeited their popularity when in September, 1788, they declared that the Estates General should meet in its old way, which would have enabled the privileged classes to stop any distasteful reforms.

It was now discovered that no one knew much about this long-extinct assembly of which everyone was talking, for it had not met since 1614. The king accordingly issued a general invitation to scholars to find out all they could about the customs observed in the former meetings of the Estates.

Transformation of the Estates General into a Constitutional Assembly

The old Estates General had been organized in a way appropriate enough to the feudal conditions under which it originated. Each of the three estates of the realm—clergy, nobility, and third estate—sent an equal number of representatives, who were expected to consider not the interests of the nation, but the special interests of the particular social class to which they respectively belonged. Accordingly the deputies of the three estates had not sat together or voted as a single body. The members of each group first came to an agreement among themselves and then cast a single vote for the whole order. The Estates General thus had three houses instead of two, like the English Parliament and the Congress of the United States, which had just been established.

It was natural that this system should seem preposterous to the average Frenchman in 1788. If the Estates should be convoked according to the ancient forms, the two privileged classes would together be entitled to twice the number of representatives allotted to the other twenty-five million inhabitants of France. What was much worse, it seemed impossible that any important reforms could be adopted in an assembly where those who had every selfish reason for opposing the most necessary changes were given two votes out of three. Necker, whom the king had recalled in the hope that he might succeed in adjusting the finances, agreed that the third estate might have as many deputies as both the other orders put together, namely six hundred, but he would not go so far as to

consent to having the three orders sit and vote together, as the nation at large desired.

Of the innumerable pamphlets which now appeared, the most famous was that written by Siéyès, called *What is the Third Estate?* He claimed that the "aristocrats," or privileged classes, should be simply neglected, since the deputies of the third estate would represent practically the whole nation; namely, some twenty-five million or more individuals of whom less than two hundred thousand, as he estimated, were nobles and priests. "It is impossible," he says, "to answer the question What place should the privileged orders be assigned in the social body, for it is like asking Where, in the human body, does the malign ulcer belong which torments and weakens the unhappy victim?"

Besides the great question as to whether the deputies should vote by head or by order, the pamphlets discussed what reforms the Estates should undertake. We have, however, a still more interesting and important expression of public opinion in France at this time, in the *cahiers*, or lists of grievances and suggestions for reform, which, in pursuance of an old custom, the king asked the nation to prepare. Each village and town throughout France had an opportunity to tell quite frankly just what it suffered from the existing system, and what reforms it desired that the Estates General should bring about. These *cahiers* were the "last will and testament" of the old régime, and they constitute a unique historical document of unparalleled completeness and authenticity. No one can read them without seeing that the nation was ready for the great transformation which, within a year, was to destroy a great part of the social and political system under which the French had lived for centuries.

Almost all the *cahiers* agreed that the prevailing disorder and the vast and ill-defined powers of the king and his ministers were perhaps the fundamental evils. One of them says: "Since arbitrary power has been the source of all the evils which afflict

the State, our first desire is the establishment of a really national constitution, which shall define the rights of all and provide the laws to maintain them." No one dreamed at this time of displacing the king or of taking the government out of his hands. The people only wished to change an absolute monarchy into a limited, or constitutional, one. All that was necessary was that the things which the government might *not* do should be solemnly and irrevocably determined and put upon record, and that the Estates General should meet periodically to grant the taxes, give the king advice in national crises, and expostulate, if necessary, against any violations of the proposed charter of liberties.

The king expressed the wish that he might reach all his subjects, no matter how remote or humble they might be. He consequently permitted everyone whose name appeared upon the list of taxpayers to vote, either directly or indirectly, for deputies. As he and his predecessors had always been careful to have everyone pay taxes who had anything whatever to pay, this was practically equivalent to modern universal manhood suffrage.

The village priests were all allowed to vote directly for deputies of their order. Since they hated the rich prelates who spent their time at the court of Versailles, they naturally elected as many as they could of their own rank. The result was that two thirds of the representatives of the clergy in the Estates General were simple parish priests who were in sympathy with the people and more commonly sided with the third estate than with the bishops and abbots, who were bent upon defending the old privileges and blocking reform.

With the ideas expressed in the *cahiers* in mind, the Estates assembled in Versailles and held their first session on May 5, 1789. The king had ordered the deputies to wear the same costumes that had been worn at the last meeting of the Estates in 1614; but no royal edict could call back the spirit of earlier centuries. The representatives of the third estate

refused to organize themselves in the old way as a separate order. They sent invitation after invitation to the deputies of the clergy and nobility, requesting them to join the people's representatives and deliberate in common on the great interests of the nation. Some of the more liberal of the nobles—La Fayette, for example—and a large minority of the clergy wished to meet with the deputies of the third estate.[1] But they were outvoted; and finally the deputies of the third estate (under the influence of Siéyès), losing patience, declared themselves on June 17 a "National Assembly." They argued that since they represented at least 96 per cent of the nation, the deputies of the privileged orders might be neglected altogether. This usurpation of power on the part of the third estate transformed the old feudal Estates, voting by orders, into the first modern national representative assembly on the continent of Europe.

Under the influence of his courtiers the king tried to restore the old system by arranging a solemn joint session of the three orders, at which he presided in person. He presented a long program of excellent reforms, and then bade the Estates sit apart, according to the former custom. But it was like bidding water to run uphill. Three days before, when the commons had found themselves excluded from their regular place of meeting on account of the preparations for the royal session, they had betaken themselves to a neighboring building called the "Tennis Court." Here, on June 20, they took the famous "Tennis-Court" oath: never to separate "until the constitution of the kingdom should be established and placed upon a firm foundation." They were emboldened in their purpose to resist all schemes to frustrate a general reform by the support of over half the deputies of the clergy, who joined them the day before the royal session.

[1] The nobles, of whom a few sympathized with the third estate, rejected the proposed union by a vote of 188 to 47. The vote of the clergy, made up largely of parish priests, stood 133 to 114, so ten more votes, in their case, would have turned the scale.

Consequently, when the king finished his address and commanded the three orders to disperse immediately in order to resume their separate sessions, most of the bishops, some of the parish priests, and a great part of the nobility obeyed; the rest sat still, uncertain what they should do. When the master of ceremonies ordered them to comply with the king's commands, Count Mirabeau, who was to prove himself the most distinguished statesman among the deputies, told him bluntly that they would not leave their places except at the point of the bayonet. The weak king almost immediately gave in, and a few days later ordered all the deputies of the privileged orders, who had not already done so, to join the commons.

This was a momentous victory for the nation. The representatives of the privileged classes had been forced to unite with the third estate, to deliberate with them, and to vote "by head." Moreover the National Assembly had pledged itself never to separate until it had regenerated the kingdom and given France a constitution. It was no longer simply to vote on taxes and help the king's treasury out of its perennial difficulties.

Paris Mobs begin to take a Hand in Affairs

The National Assembly now began in earnest the great task of preparing a constitution for France. It was, however, soon interrupted. The little group of noblemen and prelates who spent much of their time in the king's palace formed what was known as the court party. They naturally opposed reform; they neither wished to give up their own privileges nor to have the king come under the control of the National Assembly, for that would mean that he would no longer be able to give them the pensions and lucrative positions which they now readily obtained. This court "ring" enjoyed the hearty support of the queen, Marie Antoinette, and of the king's younger brother, the count of Artois, both of whom regarded the deputies of the third estate as insolent and dangerous agitators who proposed

to rob the monarch of the powers which had been conferred upon him by God himself. The queen and her friends had got rid of Turgot and Calonne, who had endeavored to change the old order; why should they not disperse the Estates General, which was escaping from the control of the clergy and nobility?

The king agreed to the court party's plans. He summoned the Swiss and German troops in the employ of France and sent a company of them into Paris in order that they might suppress any violence on the part of the townspeople, should he decide to send the arrogant deputies home. He was also induced to dismiss Necker, who enjoyed a popularity that he had, in reality, done little to merit. When the people of Paris saw the troops gathering and heard of the dismissal of Necker, they became excited. Camille Desmoulins, a brilliant young journalist, rushed into the garden of the Palais Royal, where crowds of people were discussing the situation, and, leaping upon a table, announced that the Swiss and German soldiers would soon be slaughtering all the "patriots." He urged "the people" to arm and defend both themselves and the National Assembly from the attacks of the court party, which wished to betray the nation. All night mobs surged about the streets, seeking arms in the shops of the gunsmiths and breaking into bakeries and taverns to satisfy their hunger and thirst.

This was but the prelude to the great day of July 14, when crowds of people assembled to renew the search for arms and to perform, mayhap, some deed of patriotism. One of the lawless bands made its way to the ancient fortress of the Bastille, which stood in the poorer quarter of the city. Here the mob expected to find arms, but the governor of the fortress, De Launay, naturally refused to supply the crowd with weapons. The crowd imagined the castle to be full of dark dungeons and instruments of torture. It appeared to them a symbol of tyranny, for it had long been used as a place of confinement for those whom the king imprisoned by his arbitrary orders, the *lettres de cachet*. While there seemed no hope of taking the

fortress, the walls of which, ten feet thick, towered high above them, the attempt was made. Negotiations with the governor were opened, and during these a part of the crowd pressed across a drawbridge into the court and were fired upon by the garrison. Meanwhile the mob on the outside continued an ineffectual but desperate attack, until De Launay was forced by the garrison to surrender, on condition that they should be allowed to retire unmolested. The drawbridge was then let down, and the crowd rushed into the gloomy pile. They found only seven prisoners, whom they freed with great enthusiasm. But the better element in the crowd was unable to restrain the violent and cruel class, represented in every mob, who proposed to avenge the slaughter of their companions in the courtyard of the Bastille. Consequently the Swiss soldiers, who formed the garrison, were killed, and their heads, with that of De Launay, were paraded about the streets on pikes.

The attack on the Bastille was an ugly case of mob violence, but it was speedily acclaimed as a heroic deed, and its anniversary is still celebrated in France as the chief national holiday. The events of July 14, 1789, have been "disfigured and transfigured by legends," but none the less they deeply affected the current of events. The court party continued to make trouble, but its opposition served to hasten rather than to impede reform. Some of the leaders of the group, among them the king's younger brother, the count of Artois (who was destined, long after, to become king as Charles X), left France immediately after the fall of the Bastille and began actively urging foreign monarchs to intervene to protect Louis XVI from the reformers.

It had become clear that the king could not maintain order in Paris. The shopkeepers and other respectable citizens were compelled to protect themselves against the wild crowds made up of the criminal and disorderly class of the capital and reënforced by half-starving men who had drifted to Paris on account of the famine which prevailed in the provinces. To

prevent attacks on individuals and the sacking of shops, a "national guard" was organized, made up of volunteers from the well-to-do citizens. General La Fayette, one of the most liberal-minded of the nobles, was put in command. This deprived the king of every excuse for calling in his regular troops to insure order in Paris, and put the military power into the hands of the *bourgeoisie*, as the French call the class made up of the more prosperous business men.

The government of Paris was reorganized; and a mayor, chosen from among the members of the National Assembly, was put at the head of the new *commune*, as the municipal government was called. The other cities of France also began with one accord, after the dismissal of Necker and the fall of the Bastille, to promote the Revolution by displacing or supplementing their former governments by committees of their citizens. These improvised communes, or city governments, established national guards, as Paris had done, and thus maintained order. The news that the king had approved the changes at Paris confirmed the citizens of other cities in the conviction that they had done right in taking the control into their own hands. We shall hear a good deal of the commune, or municipal government, of Paris later, as it played a very important rôle in the Reign of Terror.

First Reforms of the National Assembly, August-October, 1789

By the end of the month of July the commotion reached the country districts. A curious panic swept over the land, which the peasants long remembered as "the great fear." A mysterious rumor arose that "the brigands" were coming! The terrified people did what they could to prepare for the danger, although they had no clear idea of what it was; neighboring communities combined with one another for mutual protection. When the panic was over and people saw that there were no

brigands after all, they turned their attention to an enemy by no means imaginary; that is, the old régime. The peasants assembled on the village common or in the parish church and voted no longer to pay the feudal dues. The next step was to burn the *châteaux*, or residences of the nobles, in order to destroy the records of the peasants' obligations to their feudal lords.

About the first of August news reached the National Assembly of the burning of *châteaux* in various parts of the kingdom, and of the obstinate refusal of the country people to pay the tithes, taxes, rents, and feudal dues. It seemed absolutely necessary to pacify and encourage the people by announcing sweeping reforms. Consequently, during the celebrated night session of August 4–5, amid great excitement, the members of the privileged orders, led by the viscount of Noailles, a relative of La Fayette who had fought with him in America, vied with one another in surrendering their ancient privileges.[1]

The exclusive right of the nobility to hunt and to maintain their huge pigeon houses was abolished, and the peasant was permitted to kill game which he found on his land. The tithes of the Church were done away with. Exemptions from the payment of taxes were abolished forever. It was decreed that "taxes shall be collected from all citizens and from all property in the same manner and in the same form," and that "all citizens, without distinction of birth, are eligible to any office or dignity." Moreover, since a national constitution would be of more advantage to the provinces than the privileges which

[1] Of course the nobles and clergy had very little prospect of retaining their privileges even if they did not give them up voluntarily. This was bitterly emphasized by Marat in his newspaper, *The Friend of the People*. "Let us not be duped! If these sacrifices of privileges were due to benevolence, it must be confessed that the voice of benevolence has been raised rather late in the day. When the lurid flames of their burning *châteaux* have illuminated France, these people have been good enough to give up the privilege of keeping in fetters men who had already gained their liberty by force of arms. When they see the punishment that awaits robbers, extortioners, and tyrants like themselves they generously abandon the feudal dues and agree to stop bleeding the wretched people who can barely keep body and soul together."

some of these enjoyed, and "inasmuch as the surrender of such privileges is essential to the intimate union of all parts of the realm, it is decreed that all the peculiar privileges, pecuniary or otherwise, of the provinces, principalities, districts, cantons, cities, and communes, are once for all abolished and are absorbed into the law common to all Frenchmen."[1]

This decree thus proclaimed the equality and uniformity for which the French had so long sighed. The injustices of the former system of taxation could never be reintroduced. All France was to have the same laws, and its citizens were henceforth to be treated in the same way by the State, whether they lived in Brittany or in Dauphiny, in the Pyrenees or on the Rhine. A few months later the Assembly went a step farther in consolidating and unifying France. It wiped out the old provinces altogether by dividing the whole country into districts of convenient size called *départements*. These were much more numerous than the ancient divisions, and were named after rivers and mountains. This obliterated from the map all reminiscences of the feudal disunion.

Many of the *cahiers* had suggested that the Estates should draw up a clear statement of the rights of the individual citizen. It was urged that the recurrence of abuses and the insidious encroachments of despotism might in this way be forever prevented. The National Assembly consequently determined to prepare such a declaration in order to gratify and reassure the people and to form a basis for the new constitution.

This Declaration of the Rights of Man (completed August 26, 1789) is one of the most notable documents in the history of Europe. It not only aroused general enthusiasm when it was first published, but it appeared over and over again, in a modified form, in the succeeding French constitutions down to 1848, and has been the model for similar declarations in many of the other Continental states. It was a dignified repudiation of the

[1] The nobles were to be indemnified for some of the important but less offensive of the feudal dues.

abuses described above. Behind each article there was some crying evil of long standing against which the people wished to be forever protected: *lettres de cachet*, religious persecution, censorship of the press, and despotism in general.

The Declaration sets forth that "Men are born and remain equal in rights. Social distinctions can be founded only upon the general good." "Law is the expression of the general will. Every citizen has a right to participate, personally or through his representative, in its formation. It must be the same for all." "No person shall be accused, arrested, or imprisoned except in the cases and according to the forms prescribed by law." "No one shall be disquieted on account of his opinions, including his religious views, provided that their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law." "The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom, being responsible, however, for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law." "All citizens have a right to decide, either personally or by their representative, as to the necessity of the contribution to the public treasury, to grant this freely, to know to what uses it is put, and to fix the proportion, the mode of assessment and of collection, and the duration of the taxes." "Society has the right to require of every public agent an account of his administration." Well might the Assembly claim, in its address to the people, that "the rights of man had been misconceived and insulted for centuries," and boast that they were "reëstablished for all humanity in this declaration, which shall serve as an everlasting war cry against oppressors."

It is impossible, some say, to regenerate an old and corrupt nation. Let such objectors learn that there is nothing corrupt but those who wish to perpetuate corrupting abuses, and that a nation becomes young again the moment it resolves to be born anew in liberty. Behold the regeneration!

The National Assembly in Paris, October, 1789, to September, 1791

The king hesitated to ratify the Declaration of the Rights of Man, and about the first of October rumors became current that, under the influence of the courtiers, he was calling together troops and preparing for another attempt to put an end to the Revolution similar to that which the attack on the Bastille had frustrated. A regiment arrived from Flanders and was entertained at a banquet given by the king's guard at Versailles. The queen was present; and it was reported in Paris that the officers, in their enthusiasm for her, had trampled underfoot the new national colors, the red, white, and blue, which had been adopted after the fall of the Bastille. These things, along with the scarcity of food due to the poor crops of the year, aroused the excitable Paris populace to fever heat.

On October 5 several thousand women and a number of armed men trudged out to Versailles to ask bread of the king, in whom they had great confidence personally, however suspicious they might be of his friends and advisers. La Fayette marched after the crowd with the national guard, but did not prevent some of the people from invading the king's palace the next morning and nearly murdering the queen, who had become very unpopular. She was believed to be still an Austrian at heart and to be in league with the counter-revolutionary party.

The mob's leaders declared that the king must accompany them to Paris, and he was obliged to consent. Far from being disloyal to him, they assumed that the presence of the royal family would in some magical way insure plenty and prosperity. So the women gayly escorted the "baker and the baker's wife and the baker's boy," as they jocularly termed the king and queen and the little Dauphin, to the Palace of the Tuileries, where the king took up his residence, practically a prisoner, as it proved. The National Assembly soon fol-

lowed him and resumed its sittings in a riding-school near the Tuileries—the best quarters available.

This transfer of the king and the Assembly to the capital was the first great misfortune of the Revolution. The work of reform was by no means completed, and now the disorderly element of Paris could at any time invade the galleries and interrupt those deputies who proposed measures that did not meet with their approval. Marat's newspaper, *The Friend of the People*, assured the poor of the city that they were the real "patriots." Before long they came to hate the well-to-do middle class (the *bourgeoisie*) almost as heartily as they hated the nobles, and were ready to follow any leader who talked to them about "liberty" and vaguely denounced "traitors." Under these circumstances the populace might at any time get control of Paris, and Paris of the National Assembly. And so it fell out, as we shall see.

It did no good when Mirabeau wisely pointed out to Louis that both the king and the Assembly were now really prisoners in Paris, which was constantly subject to the most serious disturbances.

> Its inhabitants when excited are irresistible. Winter is approaching and food may be wanting. Bankruptcy may be declared. What will Paris be three months hence?—assuredly a poorhouse, perhaps a theater of horrors. Is it to such a place that the head of the nation should intrust his existence and our only hope?

The king, he urged, should openly retire to Rouen, in Normandy, and summon the Assembly to him there, where reforms could be completed without interruption or coercion. Above all things, the king must not go eastward, else he would be suspected of joining the runaway nobles who were hanging about the boundaries. Yet, as we shall see, when the king finally decided to escape from Paris eighteen months later, this was precisely what he did.

But for some time there was no considerable disorder. The

deputies worked away on the constitution, and on February 4, 1790, the king visited the National Assembly and solemnly pledged himself and the queen to accept the new form of government. This provided that the sovereign should rule both by the grace of God and by the constitutional law of the State, but the nation was to be superior to the law, and the law to be superior to the king. The king was to be the chief executive and was to be permitted to veto bills passed by the Assembly, unless they were passed by three successive assemblies, in which case they would become law without his ratification. This was called the suspensive veto and was supposed to be modeled upon that granted to the president of the United States.

The constitution naturally provided that the laws should be made and the taxes be granted by a representative body that should meet regularly. This was to consist, like the National Assembly, of one house, instead of two like the English Parliament. Many had favored the system of two houses; but the nobility and clergy, who would have composed the upper house on the English analogy, were still viewed with suspicion as likely to wish to restore the privileges of which they had just been deprived. Only those citizens who paid a tax equal to three days' labor were permitted to vote for deputies to the Legislative Assembly. Consequently the poorer people had no voice in the government in spite of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which assured equal rights to all. This and other restrictions tended to keep the power in the hands of the middle class.

Of the other reforms of the National Assembly, the most important related to the Church, which, as has been explained, continued up to the time of the Revolution to be very rich and powerful and to retain many of its medieval prerogatives and privileges. Its higher officials, bishops and abbots, received very large revenues; and often one prelate held a number of rich benefices, the duties of which he utterly neglected while he diverted himself at Versailles. The parish priests, on the

other hand, who really performed the manifold and important functions of the Church, were scarcely able to live on their incomes. This unjust apportionment of the vast revenue of the Church naturally suggested the idea that if the State confiscated the ecclesiastical possessions, it could see that those who did the work were properly paid for it, and might at the same time secure a handsome sum which would help the government out of its financial troubles. Those who sympathized with Voltaire's views were naturally delighted to see their old enemy deprived of its independence and made subservient to the State, and even many good Catholics hoped that the new system would be an improvement on the old.

The tithes had been abolished in August along with the feudal dues. This deprived the Church of perhaps thirty million dollars a year. On November 2, 1789, a decree was passed providing that "All the ecclesiastical possessions are at the disposal of the nation on condition that it provides properly for the expenses of maintaining religious services, for the support of those who conduct them, and for the succor of the poor." This decree deprived the bishops and priests of their benefices and made them dependent on salaries paid by the State. The monasteries and convents were also, when called upon, to give up their property to meet the needs of the State.[1]

[1] The medieval monastic orders, feeble and often degenerate, still continued to exist in France at the opening of the Revolution: Benedictines, Carthusians, Cistercians, Franciscans, Dominicans. The State still recognized the solemn vows of poverty taken by the monks and viewed them as incapable of holding any property or receiving any bequests. It also regarded it as its duty to arrest a runaway monk and restore him to his monastery. The National Assembly, shortly after declaring the property of the monasteries at the disposal of the nation, refused (February 13, 1790) longer legally to recognize perpetual monastic vows, and abolished all the orders which required them. The monks and nuns were to be free to leave their monasteries and were, in that case, to receive a pension from the government of from seven hundred to twelve hundred francs. Those, however, who preferred to remain were to be grouped in such houses as the government assigned them.

In a year or so a good many of the monks appear to have deserted their old life, but very few of the nuns. Those who remained were naturally the most

The National Assembly a little later ordered inventories to be made of the lands and buildings and various sources of revenue which the bishops, priests, and monks had so long enjoyed, and then the Church property was offered for sale. Meanwhile, to supply an empty treasury the Assembly determined to issue a paper currency for which the newly acquired lands would serve as security. Of these *assignats*, as this paper money was called, we hear a great deal during the revolutionary period. They soon began to depreciate, and ultimately a great part of the forty billions of francs issued during the next seven years was repudiated.

After depriving the Church of its property the Assembly deemed it necessary to reorganize it completely, and drew up the so-called Civil Constitution of the Clergy (completed July, 1790). The one hundred and thirty-four ancient bishoprics, some of which dated back to the Roman Empire, were reduced to eighty-three, so as to correspond with the new "departments" into which France had just been divided. Each of these became the diocese of a bishop, who was no longer to be appointed by the king and confirmed by the Pope[1] but was looked upon as a government official to be elected, like other government officials, by the people and to be paid a regular salary. The priests, too, were to be chosen by the people instead of, as formerly, by the bishop or the lord of the manor; and their

conservative of all; they opposed the Revolution and sided with that part of the clergy who refused to swear to support the new constitution. This made them very unpopular with the Legislative Assembly, which, in August, 1792, ordered all the monasteries to be vacated and turned over to the government for its use. At the same time it abolished all the other religious communities and associations, such as the Oratorians and the Sisters of Charity, which, without requiring any solemn vows, had devoted themselves to teaching or to charitable works. Many of these religious *congregations*, as the French call them, were revived in the nineteenth century and were the cause of a good deal of agitation during the opening years of the twentieth century.

[1] The decrees abolishing the feudal system (August 11, 1789) had already prohibited all remittances to the Pope in the shape of *annates* or other payments. The bishoprics were grouped into ten districts, each presided over by a "metropolitan," who corresponded to the former archbishop.

salaries were to be substantially increased. In Paris they were to have six thousand francs, in smaller places less, but never an amount below twelve hundred francs. Even in the smallest villages they received over twice the minimum paid under the old régime. Lastly, it was provided that clergymen upon accepting office must all take an oath, like other government officials, to be faithful to the nation, the law, and the king, and to "maintain with all their might the constitution decreed by the Assembly."

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy proved a serious mistake. While the half-feudalized Church had sadly needed reform, the worst abuses might have been remedied without overturning the whole system, which was hallowed in the minds of most of the French people by age and religious veneration. The arbitrary suppression of fifty-one bishoprics; the election of the bishops by the ordinary voters, who included Protestants, Jews, and unbelievers, the neglect of the Pope's rights,—all shocked and alienated thousands of those who had hitherto enthusiastically applauded the reforms which the Assembly had effected. The king gave his assent to the Civil Constitution, but with the fearful suspicion that he might be losing his soul by so doing. From that time on he became an enemy of the Revolution on religious grounds.

The bishops, with very few exceptions, opposed the changes and did all they could to prevent the reforms from being carried out. Accordingly (November 27, 1790) the irritated Assembly ordered all the bishops and priests to take the oath to the Constitution (which, of course, included the new laws in regard to the Church) within a week. Those who refused were to be regarded as having resigned; and if any of them still continued to perform their functions, they were to be treated as "disturbers of the peace."

Only four of the bishops consented to take the required oath and but a third of the lower clergy, although they were much better off under the new system. Forty-six thousand parish

priests refused to sacrifice their religious scruples. Before long the Pope condemned the Civil Constitution and forbade the clergy to take the oath. As time went on the "nonjuring" clergy were dealt with more and more harshly by the government, and the way was prepared for the horrors of the Reign of Terror. The Revolution ceased to stand for liberty, order, and the abolition of ancient abuses, and came to mean—in the minds of many besides those who had lost their former privileges—irreligion, violence, and a new kind of oppression more cruel than the old.

A year after the fall of the Bastille a great festival was held in Paris to celebrate the glorious anniversary which has been commemorated on July 14 ever since. Delegates were sent to Paris from all parts of France to express the sympathy of the country at large. This occasion made a deep impression upon all, as well it might. It was more than a year later, however, before the National Assembly at last finished its work, and dissolved to give place to the Legislative Assembly for which the constitution provided.

The National Assembly had taken somewhat more than two years to carry out its tremendous task of modernizing France. No body of men has ever accomplished so much in so short a period. The English Parliament, during an existence of five hundred years, had done far less to reform England; and no monarch, with the possible exception of the unhappy Joseph II, has ever even attempted to make such deep and far-reaching changes as those permanently accomplished by the first French Assembly.

Despite the marvelous success of the Assembly, as measured by the multiplicity and the decisiveness of its reforms, it had made many and dangerous enemies. The king and the queen and the courtiers were in correspondence with the king of Prussia and the Emperor, with a hope of inducing them to intervene to check the Revolution. The runaway nobles were ready to call in foreign forces to restore the old system, and

most of the clergy now regarded the Revolution as hostile to religion. Moreover, the populace in Paris and in other large towns had been aroused against the Assembly by their radical leaders, their newspapers, and the political clubs. They felt that the deputies had worked only for the prosperous classes and had done little for the poor people, who should have been supplied with bread and allowed to vote. They were irritated also by the national guard commanded by that ex-noble, the marquis of La Fayette, who looked altogether too fine on his white horse. The members of the guard, too, were well dressed and were supposed to be ready to fire on the "patriots" if they dared to make a demonstration. All together it is easy to see that there was trouble ahead. The Revolution had gone much too far for some and not far enough for others.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Weakening of the Monarchy, 1791–1792

We have now studied the progress and the nature of the revolution which destroyed the old régime and created modern France. Through it the unjust privileges, the perplexing irregularities, and the local differences were abolished, and the people were admitted to a share in the government. This vast reform had been accomplished without serious disturbance and, with the exception of some of the changes in the Church, had been welcomed with enthusiasm by the French nation.

This permanent, peaceful revolution, or reformation, was followed by a second, violent revolution, which for a time destroyed the French monarchy. It also introduced a series of further changes, many of which were fantastic and unnecessary and could not endure, since they were approved by only a few fanatical leaders. France, moreover, became involved in a war with most of the powers of western Europe. The weakness of her government, which permitted the forces of disorder and fanaticism to prevail, combined with the imminent danger of an invasion by the united powers of Europe, produced the Reign of Terror. After a period of national excitement and partial anarchy France gladly accepted the rule of one of her military commanders, who was to prove himself far more despotic than her former kings had been. This general, Napoleon Bonaparte, did not, however, undo the great work of 1789; his colossal ambition was, on the contrary, the means of extending, directly or indirectly, many of the benefits of the Revolution to other parts of western Europe.

When, after Napoleon's fall, the elder brother of Louis XVI came to the throne, the first thing that he did was solemnly to assure the people that all the great gains of the first revolution should be maintained.

While practically the whole of the nation heartily rejoiced in the earlier reforms introduced by the National Assembly, some of the higher nobility refused to remain in France. The count of Artois (the king's younger brother), Calonne, the prince of Condé, and others, set the example by leaving the country just after the events of July 14, 1789. They were followed by others who were terrified or disgusted by the burning of the *châteaux,* the loss of their privileges, and the injudicious abolition of hereditary nobility by the National Assembly in June, 1790. Before long these emigrant nobles (*émigrés*), among whom were many military officers, like Condé, organized a little army across the Rhine, and the count of Artois began to plan an invasion of France. He was ready to ally himself with Austria, Prussia, or any other foreign government which he could induce to help undo the Revolution and give back to the French king his former absolute power and to the nobles their old privileges.

The threats and insolence of the emigrant nobles and their shameful negotiations with foreign powers discredited the members of their class who still remained in France. The people rightly suspected that the plans of the runaways met with the secret approval of the king, and more especially of the queen, whose brother, Leopold II, was now Emperor, and ruler of the Austrian dominions. This, added to the opposition of the nonjuring clergy, produced a bitter hostility between the so-called "patriots" and those who, on the other hand, were supposed to be secretly hoping for a counter-revolution which would reëstablish the old régime.

The worst fears of the people seemed to be justified by the secret flight of the royal family from Paris in June, 1791. Ever since the king had reluctantly signed the Civil Constitu-

tion of the Clergy, flight had seemed to him his only resource. A body of regular troops was collected on the northeastern boundary ready to receive and protect him. If he could escape and join them at Montmédy, which was just on the frontier, about a hundred and seventy miles from Paris, he hoped that, aided by a demonstration on the part of the queen's brother, Leopold, he might march back and check the further progress of the revolutionary movement. He had, it is true, no liking for the emigrants and disapproved of their policy, nor did he believe that the old régime could ever be restored. But unfortunately his plans led him to attempt to reach the boundary just at the point where the emigrants were collected; namely, at Coblenz and Worms. He and the queen were, however, arrested at Varennes, when within twenty-five miles of their destination, and speedily brought back to Paris.

The desertion of the king appears to have terrified rather than angered the nation. The consternation of the people at the thought of losing a poor weak ruler like Louis XVI, and their relief at regaining him, clearly shows that France was still profoundly royalist in its sympathies. The National Assembly pretended that the king had not fled but had been carried off. This gratified France at large; in Paris, however, there were some who advocated the deposition of the king, on the ground that he was clearly a traitor. Indeed, for the first time a *republican* party, small as yet, made its appearance, which urged the complete abolition of the monarchical form of government and the substitution of a democracy.

Of those who had lost confidence in the king and in the monarchy the most prominent was Dr. Marat, a physician and scholar who before the Revolution had published several scientific works, but was now conducting the very violent newspaper already quoted, *The Friend of the People*. In this he denounced in the most extravagant language both the "aristocrats" and the "bourgeoisie"; for "the people" were to him the great mass of workingmen in the towns and the peasants

in the fields. Then there was the gentle and witty Camille Desmoulins, who had made the famous address in the Palais Royal on July 12, 1789, which roused the populace to defend themselves against the plots of the courtiers. He too edited a newspaper and was a leader in the radical club called the Cordeliers.[1] Lastly Desmoulins's good friend Danton, with his coarse, strong face, his big voice, and his fiery eloquence, was becoming a sort of Mirabeau of the masses. He had much good sense and was not so virulent in his language as Marat, but his superabundant vitality led him to condone violence and cruelty in carrying on the Revolution and destroying its enemies.

Under the influence of these men a petition was drawn up demanding that the Assembly should regard the king as having abdicated by his flight, and that a new convention should be called to draw up a better constitution. On July 17 this petition was taken to the Champ de Mars (a great open space used for military maneuvers, where the festival had been held during the previous July), and here the people of Paris were called together to sign it. The mayor of Paris disapproved of the affair and decided to disperse the people. He marched out with La Fayette and the national guard and ordered the petitioners to go home. Unhappily the crowd did not take the warnings of the mayor seriously; some stones were thrown at the troops, who were thereupon ordered to fire, and a number of men, women, and children were killed. This unfortunate and quite needless "Massacre of the Champ de Mars" served to weaken the monarchy still further.

It was in the following September that the National Assembly at last put the finishing touches on the constitution which had occupied them for more than two years. The king swore to obey it faithfully, and a general amnesty was pro-

[1] So named after the monastery where the club held its meetings. The monks had belonged to the order of St. Francis and were called *Cordeliers* on account of the heavy "cord," a rope with three knots, which they wore instead of a girdle.

claimed so that all the discord and suspicion of the past few months might be forgotten. The Assembly then broke up and gave way to the regular congress provided for by the new constitution,—the Legislative Assembly,—which held its first meeting on October 1, 1791.

Origin of the Revolutionary Wars

In spite of the great achievements of the National Assembly it left France in a critical situation. Besides the emigrant nobles abroad, there were the nonjuring clergy at home, and a king who was treacherously corresponding with foreign powers in the hope of securing their aid. When the news of the capture of the king and queen at Varennes reached the ears of Marie Antoinette's brother, Leopold II, he declared that the violent arrest of the king sealed with unlawfulness all that had been done in France and "compromised directly the honor of all the sovereigns and the security of every government." He therefore proposed to the rulers of Russia, Great Britain, Prussia, Spain, Naples, and Sardinia that they should come to some understanding between themselves as to how they might "reëstablish the liberty and honor of the most Christian king and his family, and place a check upon the dangerous excesses of the French Revolution, the fatal example of which it behooves every government to repress."

On August 27, 1791, Leopold, in conjunction with the king of Prussia, had issued the famous Declaration of Pillnitz. In this the two sovereigns state that, in accordance with the wishes of the king's brothers (the leaders of the emigrant nobles), they are ready to join the other European rulers in an attempt to place the king of France in a position to establish a form of government "that shall be once more in harmony with the rights of sovereigns and shall promote the welfare of the French nation." They agreed in the meantime to prepare their troops for active service.

The Declaration was little more than an empty threat; but it seemed to the French people a sufficient proof that the monarchs were ready to help the seditious French nobles to reëstablish the old régime against the wishes of the nation and at the cost of infinite bloodshed. The idea of foreign rulers intermeddling with their internal affairs would in itself have been intolerable to a proud people like the French, even if the new reforms had not been endangered. Had it been the object of the allied monarchs to hasten instead of to prevent the deposition of Louis XVI, they could hardly have chosen a more efficient means than the Declaration of Pillnitz.

Political excitement and enthusiasm for the Revolution were kept up by the newspapers which had been established, especially in Paris, since the convening of the Estates General. Except in England there had been no daily newspapers before the French Revolution, and those journals that were issued weekly or at longer intervals had little to say of politics, commonly a dangerous subject on the Continent. But after 1789 the public did not need longer to rely upon an occasional pamphlet, as was the case earlier. Many journals of the most divergent kinds and representing the most various opinions were published. Some, like the notorious *Friend of the People*, were no more than a periodical editorial written by one man. Others, like the famous *Moniteur*, were much like our papers of today and contained news, both foreign and domestic, reports of the debates in the assembly and the text of its decrees, announcements of theaters, and so on. The royalists had their organ, called *The Acts of the Apostles*, witty and irreverent as the court party itself. Some of the papers were illustrated, and the representations of contemporaneous events, especially the frequent caricatures, are highly diverting.

Of the numerous political clubs, by far the most famous was that of the *Jacobins*. When the Assembly moved into Paris, some of the provincial representatives of the third estate rented a large room in the monastery of the Jacobin monks, not far

from the building where the National Assembly itself met. A hundred deputies perhaps were present at the first meeting. The next day the number had doubled. The aim of this society was to discuss questions which were about to come before the National Assembly. The club decided at its meetings what should be the policy of its members and how they should vote; and in this way they successfully combined to counteract the schemes of the aristocratic party in the Assembly. The club rapidly grew, and soon admitted to its sessions some who were not deputies. In October, 1791, it decided to permit the public to attend its discussions.

Gradually similar societies were formed in the provinces.[1] These affiliated themselves with the "mother" society at Paris and kept in constant communication with it. In this way the Jacobins of Paris stimulated and controlled public opinion throughout France and kept the opponents of the old régime alert. When the Legislative Assembly met, the Jacobins had not as yet become republicans, but they believed that the king should have hardly more power than the president of a republic. They were even ready to promote his deposition if he failed to stand by the Revolution.

The new Legislative Assembly was not well qualified to cope with the many difficulties which faced it. It was made up almost entirely of young and inexperienced men; for the National Assembly, on motion of the virtuous Robespierre, had passed a self-denying ordinance excluding all its members from election to the new body. The Jacobin clubs in the provinces had succeeded in securing the election of a good many of their candidates, sometimes by resorting to violence in order to defeat the more conservative candidates. Consequently the most active and powerful party in the Legislative Assembly was, on the whole, hostile to the king.

Many young and ardent lawyers had been elected, among

[1] By June, 1791, there were four hundred and six of these affiliated Jacobin clubs.

whom the most prominent were from the department of the Gironde, in which the important city of Bordeaux was situated. They and their followers were called Girondists. They had much to say in their brilliant speeches of the glories of Sparta and of the Roman Republic; they too longed for a republic, and inveighed against "tyrants." They applauded the eloquence of their chief orator, Vergniaud, and frequently assembled at the house of the ardent and fascinating Madame Roland to consider the regeneration of their beloved country. But in spite of their enthusiasm they were not statesmen and showed no skill in meeting the troublesome problems that kept arising.

The Assembly, not unnaturally, promptly turned its attention to the emigrant nobles. These had been joined by the king's elder brother, the count of Provence, who had managed to escape at the time that the royal family had been arrested at Varennes. Having succeeded in inducing the Emperor and the king of Prussia to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz, they continued to collect troops on the Rhine. The Assembly declared that "the Frenchmen assembled on the frontier" were under suspicion of conspiring against their country. The count of Provence was ordered to return within two months or forfeit any possible claim to the throne. Should the other *émigrés* fail to return to France by January 1, 1792, they were to be regarded as convicted traitors and punished, if caught, with death, and their property was to be confiscated.

The harsh treatment of the emigrant nobles found an excuse in their desertion and treasonable intrigues, but the conduct of the Assembly toward the clergy proved impolitic as well as cruel. Those who had refused to pledge themselves to support a system which was in conflict with their religious convictions and which had been condemned by the Pope were commanded to take the prescribed oath within a week, on penalty of losing their income from the State and being put under surveillance as "suspects." As this failed to bring the clergy to terms, the Assembly later (May, 1792) ordered the

deportation from the country of those who steadily persisted in their refusal to accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. In this way the Assembly aroused the active hostility of a great part of the most conscientious among the lower clergy, who had loyally supported the commons in their fight against the privileged orders. It also lost the confidence of the great mass of faithful Catholics,—merchants, artisans, and peasants,—who had gladly accepted the abolition of the old abuses, but who would not consent to desert their priests at the bidding of the Assembly.

By far the most important act of the Legislative Assembly during the one year of its existence was its precipitation of a war between France and Austria. To many in the Assembly, including the Girondists, it seemed that the existing conditions were intolerable. The emigrant nobles were forming little armies on the boundaries of France and had induced Austria and Prussia to consider interfering in French affairs. The Assembly suspected—what was quite true—that Louis was negotiating with foreign rulers and would be glad to have them intervene and reëstablish him in his old despotic power. The Girondist deputies argued, therefore, that a war against the hated Austria would unite the sympathies of the nation and force the king to show his true character, for he would be obliged either to become the nation's leader or to show himself the traitor they believed him to be.

It was with a heavy heart that Louis XVI, urged on by the clamors of the Girondists, declared war upon Austria on April 20, 1792. Little did the ardent young lawyers of the Assembly surmise that this was the beginning of the most terrific and momentous series of wars that had ever swept over Europe, involving, during twenty-three years of almost continuous conflict, every country and people from Ireland to Turkey and from Norway to Naples. Although the Girondist leaders, Vergniaud, Brissot, Guadet, and their friend Madame Roland, were the first to be destroyed by the storm they had conjured

up, could they have looked forward they would have been consoled to see that the tyrants they hated never permanently regained their old power; that the long wars served to bring the principles of the French Revolution home to all the European peoples, everywhere slowly but surely destroyed the old régime, and gave to the people that control of their governments which the Girondists had so hotly advocated.

The French army was in no condition for war. The officers, who, according to the law, were all nobles, had many of them deserted and joined the *émigrés*. The regular troops were consequently demoralized, and the new national guard had not yet been employed except to maintain order in the towns. Naturally Dumouriez, the Girondist minister of war, first turned his attention to the Austrian Netherlands, which promised to be an easy conquest. The reforms of Joseph II and his attempt to make the Netherlands an integral part of the Austrian state had roused a revolt in 1789.[1] It is true that when Leopold II came to the throne and undid his brother's rash changes, all resistance had subsided. Still there was a strong party in the Netherlands which greeted the French Revolution with enthusiasm, and Dumouriez had good reason to think that the attempts made a century before by Louis XIV to add that region to France might at last be successful. But the raw troops that he collected for the invasion of Belgium ran away as soon as they caught sight of Austrian cavalry. The emigrant nobles rejoiced, and Europe concluded that the "patriots" were made of poor stuff.

France becomes a Republic

Meanwhile matters were going badly for the king of France. The Assembly had passed two bills, one ordering those priests who refused to take the oath to the constitution to leave the country within a month; the other directing the formation,

[1] See page 193, above.

just without the walls of Paris, of a camp of twenty thousand volunteers from various parts of France as a protection to the capital. The king resolved, for very good reasons, to veto both these measures and to dismiss his Girondist ministry, with the exception of Dumouriez, his really able minister of war, who, however, immediately resigned.

All this served to make the king far more unpopular than ever. The "Austrian woman" or "Madame Veto," as the queen was called, was rightly believed to be actively betraying France, and it is now known that she did send to Austria the plan of campaign which had been adopted before the war began. On June 20, 1792, some of the lesser leaders of the Paris populace resolved to celebrate the anniversary of the Tennis-Court oath. They arranged a procession which was permitted to march through the riding-school where the Assembly sat.

The ensigns of the mob were a calf's heart on the point of a pike, labeled "The Heart of an Aristocrat," and a pair of knee breeches representing the older costume of a gentleman, which was now going out of fashion, since the Girondists, in order to exhibit their democratic sentiments, had adopted the long trousers which had hitherto been worn only by workingmen. To give up knee breeches and become a "sans-culotte," or breeches-less patriot, was considered an unmistakable indication of love for the Revolution.

After visiting the Assembly the crowd found their way into the neighboring palace of the Tuileries. They wandered through the beautiful apartments shouting, "Down with Monsieur Veto!" The king might have been killed by some ruffian had he not consented to drink to the health of the "nation" whose representatives were roughly crowding him into the recess of a window, and to put on a red "liberty cap," the badge of the "citizen patriots."

This invasion of the Tuileries seemed to the European rulers a new and conclusive proof that the Revolution meant anarchy. Had not the populace of Paris treated the king of

France as they might have treated a poor drunken fellow in the street? Prussia had immediately joined Austria when France declared war against the latter in April; and now the army which Frederick the Great had led to victory was moving, under his old general, the duke of Brunswick, toward the French boundary with a view of restoring Louis XVI to his former independent position.

The Assembly now declared the country "in danger." Every citizen, whether in town or country, was to report, under penalty of imprisonment, what arms or munitions he possessed. The national guards were to select from their ranks those who could best join the active army. Every citizen was ordered to wear the tricolored cockade, the red, white, and blue of the Revolution. In this way the peasants, who had been accustomed to regard war as a matter of purely personal interest to kings, were given to understand that they were not now called upon to risk their lives, as formerly, because the Polish king had lost his throne or because Maria Theresa had a grudge against Frederick the Great. Now, if they shed their blood, it would be to keep out of France two "tyrants" who proposed to undo the reforms of the past three years and restore to the hated runaway nobles their former privileges.

As the allies approached the French frontier it became clearer and clearer that the king was utterly incapable of leading in the defense of the country, even if he were willing to oppose the armies which claimed to be coming to his rescue and with which he was believed to be in league. France seemed almost compelled under the circumstances to rid herself of her traitorous and utterly incompetent ruler. The duke of Brunswick, who was in command of the Prussian army, sealed the king's fate by issuing a manifesto on July 25, 1792, in the name of both the Emperor and the king of Prussia, in which he declared that the allies proposed to put an end to anarchy in France and restore the king to his rightful powers; that the inhabitants of France who dared to oppose the

Austrian and Prussian troops "shall be punished immediately according to the most stringent laws of war, and their houses shall be burned." If Paris offered the least violence to king or queen, or again permitted the Tuileries to be invaded, the allies promised to "inflict an ever-to-be-remembered vengeance by delivering over the city of Paris to military control and complete destruction."

The leaders in Paris now determined to force the Assembly to depose the king. Five hundred members of the national guard of Marseille were summoned to their aid. This little troop of "patriots" came marching up through France singing that most stirring of all national airs, the "Marseillaise," which has circled the globe under their name.[1]

Danton and other leaders of the insurrection had set their hearts on doing away with the king altogether and establishing a republic. After careful preparations, which were scarcely concealed, the various sections into which Paris was divided arranged to attack the Tuileries on August 10. The men from Marseille led in this attack. The king, who had been warned, retired from the palace with the queen and the Dauphin to the neighboring riding-school, where they were respectfully received by the Assembly and assigned a safe place in the newspaper reporters' gallery. The king's Swiss guards fired upon the insurgents, but were overpowered and

[1] This famous song was not meant originally as a republican chant. It had been composed a few months before by Rouget de Lisle at Strasbourg. War had just been declared, and it was designed to give heart to the French army on the Rhine. The "tyrants" it refers to were the foreign kings Frederick William II of Prussia and the Emperor, who were attacking France, not Louis XVI. The "Marseillaise" begins as follows:

Allons, enfants de la patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé;
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé.
Entendez-vous, dans les campagnes,
Mugir ces féroces soldats?
Ils viennent jusque dans nos bras
Égorger nos fils, nos compagnes!
Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons!
Marchons, qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

almost all of them slain. Then the ruffianly element in the mob ransacked the palace and killed the servants. Napoleon Bonaparte, an unknown lieutenant who was watching affairs from across the river, declared that the palace could easily have been defended had not the commander of the guards been brutally murdered before hostilities opened.[1]

Meanwhile the representatives of the various quarters of Paris had taken possession of the city hall. They pushed the members of the municipal council off their seats and took their places. In this way a new *revolutionary commune* was formed, which seized the government of the capital and then sent messengers to demand that the Assembly dethrone the king.

The Assembly refused to abolish kingship, but "suspended" the monarch and put him under guard. They regarded the attack on the Tuileries merely as a reply to the threats of the allies, and endeavored to reassure Europe by proclaiming that France had no idea of making any conquests, but desired to establish the brotherhood of mankind. To illustrate this universal brotherhood the privileges of French citizenship were conferred upon a number of distinguished foreigners: Priestley, Wilberforce, Schiller, Washington, and Kosciusko among others. The suffrage in France, which had been limited by the previous Assembly to the citizens who could pay taxes equal to three days' labor, was extended to all, rich and poor alike. Lastly, a new ministry was formed in which Danton, the most conspicuous leader in the insurrection, was made minister of justice.

[1] Of the many patriotic songs which express the spirit of the people during the Revolution, the famous "Carmagnole," which deals with the events of August 10, may be cited. It begins:

Madame Veto avait promis,
Madame Veto avait promis,
De faire égorger tout Paris,
De faire égorger tout Paris.
Mais le coup a manqué
Grâce à nos canonniers!
Dansons la Carmagnole!
Vive le son, vive le son,
Dansons la Carmagnole,
Vive le son du canon!

Three days later a decree which had been proposed by Vergniaud was passed, summoning a new *national convention* to draft a new constitution. Although a great part of France was still loyal to the monarchy, it was evident that under the circumstances this convention would be forced to establish a republic. What else could it do? The king and queen were in league with the foreign enemies whom the king's two brothers had induced to invade France. The natural heir to the throne was a boy of seven to whose weak hands it was impossible to intrust the public welfare. These were strong arguments for the republican leaders and newspaper editors, especially as they had behind them the resolute insurrectionary commune of Paris. France must find a substitute for her ancient kings, who had come to seem little better than the feudal lords of whom they had been, after all, the chief. The monarchical constitution, scarcely a year old, was already an anachronism.

So the Legislative Assembly gave way to the Convention, whose task was truly appalling, since it had not only to draft a new constitution to suit both monarchists and republicans but to conduct the government, repel invading armies, keep down the Paris mob—in a word, see France through the Reign of Terror.

The Convention met on September 21, and its first act was to abolish the ancient monarchy and proclaim France a republic. It seemed to the enthusiasts of the time that a new era of liberty had dawned, now that the long oppression by "despots" was ended forever. The twenty-second day of September, 1792, was reckoned as the first day of the year One of French Liberty.[1]

[1] A committee of the Convention was appointed to draw up a new republican calendar. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each. The five days preceding September 22, at the end of the year, were holidays. Each month was divided into three *décades*, and each "tenth day" (*décadi*) was a holiday. The days were no longer dedicated to saints, but to agricultural implements, vegetables, domestic animals, and the like. The Convention was still agricultural in sentiment; it could not foresee the Industrial Revolution, already brewing in England.

Enemies of the New Republic, Foreign and Domestic

Meanwhile the usurping Paris commune had taken matters into its own hands and had brought discredit upon the cause of liberty by one of the most atrocious acts in history. On the pretext that Paris was full of traitors who sympathized with the Austrians and the emigrant nobles, they had filled the prisons with three thousand citizens, including many of the priests who had refused to take the oath required by the constitution. On September 2 and 3 hundreds of these were executed with scarcely a pretense of a trial. The excuse offered was "How can we go away to the war and leave behind us three thousand prisoners who may break out and destroy our wives and our children!" The members of the commune who perpetrated this deed probably hoped to terrify those who might still dream of returning to the old system of government.

Late in August the Prussians crossed the French boundary and on September 2, 1792, took the fortress of Verdun. It now seemed as if there was nothing to prevent their marching upon Paris. The French general, Dumouriez, blocked the advance of the Prussian army, however, at Valmy, scarcely a hundred miles from the capital, and forced the enemy to retreat without fighting a pitched battle. The fears of the French were scarcely justified, for King Frederick William II of Prussia (who had succeeded his uncle, Frederick the Great, six years before) had but little interest in the war. As for the Austrian troops, they were lagging far behind, for both powers were much more absorbed in a second partition of Poland, which was approaching, than in the fate of the French king.

The French were able, therefore, in spite of their disorganization, not only to expel the Prussians but to carry the Revolution beyond the bounds of France. They invaded Germany and took several important towns on the Rhine, including Mainz, which gladly opened its gates to them. They also occupied Savoy on the southeast. Then Dumouriez led his

barefooted, ill-equipped volunteers into the Austrian Netherlands. This time they did not run away but, shouting the "Marseillaise," defeated the Austrians at Jemappes (November 6, 1792), and were soon in possession of the whole country.

The Convention now proposed to use its armies to revolutionize Europe. It issued a proclamation addressed to the peoples of the countries that France was occupying: "We have driven out your tyrants. Show yourselves freemen and we will protect you from their vengeance." Feudal dues, ancient taxes, and all the burdens which had been devised by the "tyrants" were forthwith abolished, and the French nation declared that it would treat as enemies every people who, "refusing liberty and equality, or renouncing them, may wish to maintain or recall its prince or the privileged classes."

Meanwhile the Convention was puzzled to determine what would best be done with the king. A considerable party felt that he was guilty of treason in secretly encouraging the foreign powers to come to his aid. He was therefore brought to trial, and when it came to a final vote he was, by a small majority, condemned to death. He mounted the scaffold on January 21, 1793, with the fortitude of a martyr. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that, through his earlier weakness and indecision, he had helped to bring untold misery upon his own kingdom and upon Europe at large. The French people had not dreamed of a republic until his absolute incompetence forced them, in self-defense, to abolish the monarchy in the hope of securing a more efficient government.

The execution of Louis XVI had immediate and unhappy effects. The Convention had thrown down the head of their king as a challenge to the "despots" of Europe; the monarchs accepted the challenge, and the French republic soon found most of the powers of Europe ranged against it. Nowhere did the tragic event of January 21 produce more momentous results than in England. George III went into mourning and ordered the French envoy to be expelled from the kingdom; even Pitt,

forgetting the work of Cromwell and the Puritan revolutionists, declared the killing of the French king to be the most awful and atrocious crime in all recorded history. All England's old fears of French aggression were aroused. It was clear that the republic was bent upon carrying out the plans of Louis XIV for annexing the Austrian Netherlands and Holland and thereby extending her frontiers to the Rhine. Indeed, there was no telling where the excited nation, in its fanatical hatred of kings, would stop.

On February 1 Pitt made a speech in the House of Commons in which he accused the French of having broken their promises not to conquer their neighbors or mix in their affairs. They had seized the Netherlands and had declared the river Scheldt open to commerce, although it had been closed by the treaties of Westphalia (1648) in the interests of the Dutch ports. They had already occupied Savoy and now threatened Holland. They loudly proclaimed their intention to free all peoples from the dominion of their rulers. Consequently the Revolution was, Pitt urged, incompatible with the peace of Europe, and Great Britain must in honor join the allies and save Europe from falling under the yoke of France.[1]

On the same day that Pitt made his speech, the French Convention boldly declared war upon England and Holland on the ground that "the king of England has not ceased, especially since the Revolution of August 10, 1792, to give the French nation proofs of his ill-will and his attachment to the coalition of crowned heads." He had expelled the French envoy, flooded France with forged *assignats*, prevented grain from reaching French ports, and drawn the "servile" Dutch stadholder into an alliance against France. No one could have foreseen that Great Britain, the last of the European powers to

[1] Many Englishmen sympathized with the Revolution. Against Pitt's arguments some of the Whigs, especially Fox, urged in vain the murderous manifesto of the duke of Brunswick which had maddened the French, and the atrocious conduct of the allies in the partition of Poland, upon which they were just then engaged.

join the coalition against France, was to prove her most persistent enemy. For over twenty years the struggle was to continue, until an English ship carried Napoleon Bonaparte to his island prison.

Catherine the Great abhorred the revolutionists; but she had contented herself with encouraging Austria and Prussia to fight for Louis XVI and the rights of monarchs in general, while she prepared to seize more than her share of Poland. Frederick William and the Emperor were well aware of her plans and consequently felt that they must keep their eyes on her rather than move on Paris. This accounts in a measure for the ease with which the French had repulsed the allies and taken possession of the Austrian Netherlands in the autumn of 1792. It was in the following January that Prussia and Russia arranged the second partition of Poland. Austria, as has been explained,[1] was treated very shabbily and forced to go without her share on the flimsy pretense that Frederick William and Catherine would use their good offices to induce the elector of Bavaria to exchange his possessions for the Austrian Netherlands, which were at that moment in the hands of Dumouriez's republican troops.

This adjustment of the differences between the allies gave a wholly new aspect to the war with France. When in March, 1793, Spain and the Holy Roman Empire joined the coalition, France was at war with all her neighbors. The Austrians defeated Dumouriez at Neerwinden on March 18 and drove the French out of the Netherlands. Thereupon Dumouriez, disgusted by the failure of the Convention to support him and by their execution of the king, and angered by the outrageous manner in which their commissioners levied contributions from the people to whom they had brought "liberty," deserted to the enemy with a few hundred soldiers who consented to follow him.

Encouraged by this success the allies began to consider partitioning France as they had Poland. Austria might take

[1] See pages 66 f., above.

the northern regions for herself and then assign Alsace and Lorraine to Bavaria in exchange for the Bavarian territory on her boundaries, which Austria had long wished to annex. England could have Dunkirk and what remained of the French colonies. A Russian diplomat suggested that Spain and the king of Sardinia should also help themselves.

> This done, let us all work in concert to give what remains of France a stable and permanent monarchical government. She will in this way become a second-rate power which will harm no one, and we shall get rid of this democratic firebrand which threatens to set Europe aflame.

The loss of the Netherlands and the treason of their best general made a deep impression upon the members of the Convention. If the new French republic was to defend itself against the "tyrants" without and its many enemies within, it could not wait for the Convention to draw up an elaborate, permanent constitution. An efficient government must be devised immediately to maintain the loyalty of the nation to the republic and to raise and equip armies and direct their commanders. The Convention accordingly (April, 1793) put the government into the hands of a small committee consisting originally of nine, later of twelve, of its members. This famous Committee of Public Safety was given practically unlimited powers. "We must," one of the leaders exclaimed, "establish the despotism of liberty in order to crush the despotism of kings."

Origin of the Reign of Terror

Within the Convention itself there was dissension, especially between two groups of active men who came into bitter conflict over the policy to be pursued. There was, first, the party of the Girondists, led by Vergniaud, Brissot, and others. They were enthusiastic republicans and counted among their numbers some speakers of remarkable eloquence. The Girondists had enjoyed the control of the Legislative Assembly in 1792

and had been active in bringing on the war with Austria and Prussia. They hoped in that way to complete the Revolution by exposing the bad faith of the king and his sympathy with the emigrant nobles. They were not, however, men of sufficient decision to direct affairs in the terrible difficulties in which France found herself after the execution of the king. They consequently lost their influence, and a new party, called the "Mountain" from the high seats that they occupied in the Convention, gained the ascendancy.

The Mountain was composed of the most vigorous and uncompromising republicans. They believed that the French people had been depraved by the slavery to which their kings had subjected them. Everything, they argued, which suggested the former rule of kings must be wiped out. A new France should be created, in which liberty, equality, and fraternity should take the place of the tyranny of princes, the insolence of nobles, and the impostures of the priests. The leaders of the Mountain held that the mass of the people were by nature good and upright, but that there were a number of adherents of the old system who would, if they could, undo the great work of the Revolution and lead the people back to slavery under king and Church. All who were suspected by the Mountain of having the least sympathy with the nobles or persecuted priests were branded as *counter-revolutionary*. The Mountain was willing to resort to any measures, however shocking, to rid the nation of those suspected of counter-revolutionary tendencies, and its leaders relied upon the populace of Paris to aid them in reaching their ends.

The Girondists, on the other hand, abhorred the furious Paris mob and the cruel fanatics who composed the commune of the capital. They argued that Paris was not France, and that it had no right to assume a despotic rule over the nation. They proposed that the commune should be dissolved, and that the Convention should remove to another town where they would not be subject to the intimidation of the Paris mob.

The Mountain thereupon accused the Girondists of an attempt to break up the republic, "one and indivisible," by questioning the supremacy of Paris and the duty of the provinces to follow the lead of the capital. The mob, thus encouraged, rose against the Girondists. On June 2, 1793, it surrounded the meeting place of the Convention, and deputies of the commune demanded the expulsion from the Convention of the Girondist leaders, who were placed under arrest.

The conduct of the Mountain and its ally, the Paris commune, now began to arouse opposition in various parts of France, and the country was threatened with civil war at a time when it was absolutely necessary that all Frenchmen should combine in the loyal defense of their country against the invaders who were again approaching its boundaries. The first and most serious opposition came from the peasants of Brittany, especially in the department of La Vendée. There the people still loved the monarchy and their priests and even the nobles; they refused to send their sons to fight for a republic which had killed their king and was persecuting the clergymen who declined to take an oath which their conscience forbade. The Vendean royalists defeated several corps of the national guard which the Convention sent against them, and it was not until autumn that the energetic general Kléber was able to put down the insurrection.

The great cities of Marseille and Bordeaux were indignant at the treatment to which the Girondist deputies were subjected in Paris, and organized a revolt against the Convention. In the manufacturing city of Lyon the merchants hated the Jacobins and their republic, since the demand for silk and other luxuries produced at Lyon had come from the nobility and clergy, who were now no longer in a position to buy. The prosperous classes were therefore exasperated when the commissioners of the Convention demanded money and troops. The citizens gathered an army of ten thousand men and placed it under a royalist leader. The Convention, however, called in

troops from the armies on the frontier, bombarded and captured the city, and wreaked a terrible vengeance upon those who had dared to revolt against the Mountain. Frightened by the experience of Lyon, Bordeaux and Marseille decided that resistance was futile and admitted the troops of the Convention. Some of the Girondist deputies had escaped from Paris and attempted to gather an army in Normandy; but they failed, too. The Convention's Committee of Public Safety showed itself far more efficient than the scattered and disunited opponents who questioned its right to govern France.

While the Committee of Public Safety had been suppressing the revolts within the country, it had taken active measures to meet its foreign enemies. A remarkable military organizer, Carnot, had become a member of the Committee in August and immediately called for a general levy of troops. He soon had five hundred and fifty thousand men; these he divided into thirteen armies and dispatched them against the allies. The English and Hanoverians, who were besieging Dunkirk, were driven off and the Austrians were defeated, so that by the close of the year 1793 all danger from invasion was past, for the time being at least.

Terror the Order of the Day

In spite of the marvelous success with which the Committee of Public Safety had crushed its opponents at home and repelled the forces of the coalition, it continued its policy of stifling all opposition by terror. Even before the fall of the Girondists a special court had been established in Paris, known as the Revolutionary Tribunal. Its duty was to try all those who were suspected of treasonable acts. At first the cases were very carefully considered and few persons were condemned. In September, 1793, after the revolt of the cities, two new men, who had been implicated in the September massacres, were added to the Committee of Public Safety. They were selected with the particular purpose of intimidating the counter-

revolutionary party by bringing all the disaffected to the guillotine.[1] A terrible law was passed, declaring all those to be suspects who by their conduct or remarks had shown themselves enemies of liberty. The former nobles, including the wives, fathers, mothers, and children of the "emigrants," unless they had constantly manifested their attachment to the Revolution, were ordered to be imprisoned.

In October Marie Antoinette, after a trial in which false and atrocious charges were urged against her in addition to the "treasonable" acts of which she had been guilty, was executed in Paris. A number of high-minded and distinguished persons, including Madame Roland and a group of Girondists, suffered a like fate. But the most horrible acts of the Reign of Terror were perpetrated not in Paris but in the provinces, especially at Lyon, and there was a horrible massacre at Nantes.

It was not long before the members of the radical party who were conducting the government began to disagree among themselves. Danton, a man of fiery zeal for the republic, who had hitherto enjoyed great popularity with the Jacobins, became tired of bloodshed and convinced that the system of terror was no longer necessary. Camille Desmoulins, another ardent republican, began to attack the harsher Jacobins as he had earlier attacked the unpractical Girondists. He started a witty but very serious little newspaper, called *The Old Cordelier*, in the interests of moderation.

Desmoulins began by showing that the severities of the Reign of Terror were, after all, as nothing compared with the atrocities of the earlier Roman emperors which one read about in Tacitus. "Vice, pillage, and crime are diseases in republics, whereas rogues are absolutely necessary to the maintenance

[1] In former times it had been customary to inflict capital punishment by decapitating the victim with the sword. At the opening of the Revolution a certain Dr. Guillotin recommended a new device, which consisted of a heavy knife sliding downward between two uprights. This instrument, called after him, the guillotine, which is still used in France, was more speedy and certain in its action than the sword in the hands of the executioner.

of a monarchy." In his next issue he ceased to extenuate the work of the guillotine and pleaded for clemency. "You would exterminate all your enemies by the guillotine! What madness! Can you possibly destroy one enemy on the scaffold without making ten others among his family and friends?" The strong and courageous, as Desmoulins urged, had emigrated or perished at Lyon or in the Vendée. The cowardly or sick who remained were no source of danger. So Terror should no longer be the order of the day, and a committee of clemency should take the place of the revolutionary army that was traveling about the country with a movable guillotine. "This committee of clemency," he said, "will complete the Revolution, for clemency itself is a revolutionary measure, the most efficient of all, when it is wisely dealt out."

On the other hand, the radical leader of the Paris commune, Hébert, also had his newspaper, an indecent sheet which called on the people to "complete" the Revolution. He proposed that the worship of Reason should be substituted for that of God and arranged a service in the cathedral of Notre Dame where Reason, in the person of a handsome actress, took her place on the altar.

Robespierre, who was a member of the Committee of Public Safety, sympathized neither with the moderates nor with Hébert and his Goddess of Reason. He himself enjoyed a great reputation for high ideals, republican virtue, and incorruptibility. He and the young Saint-Just read their Rousseau with prayerful attention and dreamed of a glorious republic in which there should be neither rich nor poor; where men and women should live in independence and rear robust and healthy children. These should be turned over to the republic at five years of age to be educated in Spartan fashion by the nation; they were to eat together and to live on roots, fruit, vegetables, milk, cheese, bread, and water. The Eternal was to be worshiped in temples, and in these temples at certain times every man should be required publicly to state who were his

friends. Any man who said he had no friends or was convicted of ingratitude was to be banished.

Robespierre was, however, insignificant and unattractive in person and a tiresome speaker. He had none of the magnetism of Danton and none of the wit and charm of Desmoulins. He coldly advocated the execution of these two former associates for attempting to betray the republic and frustrate the Revolution by their ill-timed moderation. On the other hand, as a deist, he believed that Hébert and his followers were discrediting the Revolution by their atheism. Accordingly, through his influence the leaders of both the moderate and the extreme party were arrested and sent to the guillotine (March and April, 1794).

Robespierre now enjoyed a brief dictatorship. He read in the Convention a report on a system of festivals which were to help to regenerate the land by celebrating such abstractions as liberty, equality, glory, immortality, frugality, stoicism, and old age. He had a decree passed proclaiming that the French nation believed in God and in the immortality of the soul, and organized a ceremony in honor of the Supreme Being in which he himself assumed a very conspicuous rôle as a sort of high priest of deism. The Convention was so far in sympathy with the aspirations of Robespierre and Saint-Just as to assert that "it is necessary to refashion a people completely if it is to be made free. Its prejudices must be destroyed, its habits changed, its needs limited, its vices eradicated, and its desires purified. Strong forces must be invoked to develop social virtues and repress the passions of men."

The more effectively to destroy their enemies and those who opposed their designs for the regeneration of society, Robespierre's group had the Revolutionary Tribunal divided into four sections (June 10, 1794), so that it could work far more rapidly than hitherto. It could condemn any suspected "enemy of the people" on almost any evidence. The accused were in many cases deprived of counsel, and no witnesses were

examined. The result was that in seven weeks thirteen hundred and seventy-six persons were sent to the guillotine in Paris, whereas only eleven hundred and sixty-five had been executed from December 1 of the previous year to the passage of the terrible new law in June.

It was of course impossible for Robespierre to maintain his power long. Many of his colleagues in the Convention began to fear that they might at any moment follow Danton and Hébert to the guillotine. They did not sympathize very deeply with Robespierre's ideas; as one of the most ardent terrorists said, "Robespierre begins to bore me with his Supreme Being." A conspiracy was formed against him, and the Convention was induced to order his arrest. When, on July 27, 1794 (the 9th Thermidor of the new republican calendar), he appeared in the Convention and attempted to speak, he was silenced by cries of "Down with the tyrant!" In his consternation he could not at first recover his voice, whereupon one of the deputies shouted, "The blood of Danton chokes him!" Finally he called upon the commune of Paris to defend him; but the Convention was able to maintain its authority and to send Robespierre and Saint-Just, his fellow idealist, to the guillotine. It is sad enough that two of the most sincere and upright of all the revolutionists should, in their misguided and over-earnest efforts to better the condition of their fellow men, have become objects of execration to posterity.

In successfully overthrowing Robespierre the Convention and Committee of Public Safety had rid the country of the only man who, owing to his popularity and his reputation for uprightness, could have prolonged the Reign of Terror. There was almost an immediate reaction after his death, for the country was weary of executions. The Revolutionary Tribunal henceforth convicted very few indeed of those who were brought before it. It made an exception, however, of those who had themselves been the leaders in the worst atrocities; as, for example, the public prosecutor, who had brought hun-

dreds of victims to the guillotine in Paris, and the terrorists who had ordered the massacres at Nantes and Lyon. Within a few months the Jacobin Club at Paris was closed by the Convention and the commune of Paris abolished.

The importance and nature of the Reign of Terror are so commonly misunderstood that it is worth our while to stop a moment to reconsider it as a whole. When the Estates General met, the people of France were loyal to their king but wished to establish a more orderly government; they wanted to vote the taxes, to have some share in making the laws, and to abolish the old feudal abuses, including the medieval privileges of the nobility and the clergy. The nobility were frightened and began to run away. The king and queen urged foreign powers to intervene and even tried to escape for the purpose of joining the traitorous emigrant nobles. Austrian and Prussian troops reached the frontier, and the Prussian commander threatened to destroy Paris unless the royal family were given complete liberty. Paris, aided by the men of Marseille, retaliated by deposing the king, and the Convention decided by a narrow majority to execute Louis XVI for treason, of which he was in one sense guilty. In the summer, just as Austria and England were taking the French border fortresses of Condé and Valenciennes, the cities of Lyon, Marseille, and Toulon and the peasants of the Vendée revolted. The necessity of making head against invasion and putting down the insurrection at home led to harsh measures on the part of the Convention and its Committee of Public Safety.

When the immediate danger was dispelled, Robespierre, Saint-Just, and others sought to exterminate the enemies of that utopian republic of which they dreamed and in which every man was to have a fair chance in life. This led to the second and seemingly less excusable phase of the Reign of Terror. To the executions sanctioned by the government must be added the massacres and lynchings perpetrated by mobs or by irresponsible agents of the Convention. Yet Camille

Desmoulins was right when he claimed that the blood that had flowed "for the eternal emancipation of a nation of twenty-five millions" was as nothing to that shed by the Roman emperors (and, it may be added, by later governments), often in less worthy causes.

Then it should be remembered that a great part of the French people were nearly or quite unaffected by the Reign of Terror. In Paris very few of the citizens stood in any fear of the guillotine. The city was not the gloomy place that it has been pictured by Dickens and other story-tellers. Never did the inhabitants appear happier than when the country was being purged of the supposed traitors; never were the theaters and restaurants more crowded. The guillotine was making away with the enemies of liberty, so the women wore tiny guillotines as ornaments, and the children were given toy guillotines and amused themselves decapitating the figures of "aristocrats."

The Constitution of the Year III: the Directory

Moreover, the Convention had by no means confined its attention during the months of the Reign of Terror to hunting down "suspects" and executing traitors. Its committees had raised a million troops, organized and equipped them with arms, and sent them forth to victory. The reforms sketched out by the National Assembly had been developed and carried on. The Convention had worked out a great system of elementary education which should form the basis of the new republic. It had drafted a new code of laws which should replace the confusion of the *ancien régime,* although it was left for Napoleon to order its revision and gain the credit of the enterprise. The republican calendar was not destined to survive; but the rational system of weights and measures known as the metric system, which the Convention introduced, has been adopted by most of the nations of Continental Europe and is used by men of science in England and America.

In its anxiety to obliterate every suggestion of the old order of things, the Convention went to excess. The old terms of address, Monsieur and Madame, seemed to smack of the *ancien régime* and so were replaced by "citizen" and "citizeness." The days were no longer dedicated to St. Peter, St. James, St. Bridget, or St. Catherine, but to the cow, the horse, celery, the turnip, the harrow, the pitchfork, or other useful creature or utensil. The Place Louis XV became Place de la Révolution. Throne Square was rechristened Place of the Overturned Throne. The Convention endeavored to better the condition of the poor man and to deprive the rich of their superfluity. The land which had been taken from the Church and the runaway nobles was sold in small parcels, and the number of small landholders was thus greatly increased. In May, 1793, the Convention tried to keep down the price of grain by passing the Law of the Maximum, which forbade the selling of grain and flour at a higher price than that fixed by each commune. This was later extended to other forms of food and worked quite as badly as the grain laws which Turgot had abolished.

The reckless increase of the paper currency, or *assignats*, and the efforts to prevent their depreciation by a law which made it a capital offense to refuse to accept them at par caused infinite confusion. There were about forty billions of francs of these *assignats* in circulation at the opening of the year 1796. At that time it required nearly three hundred francs in paper to procure one in specie.

At last the Convention turned its attention once more to the special work for which it had been summoned in September, 1792, and drew up a constitution for the republic. This was preceded by a "Declaration of the Rights and Duties[1] of Man and the Citizen," which summed up, as the first Declara-

[1] All the duties of man and the citizen are derived, according to this constitution, from two principles which are graven by Nature in the hearts of all: Ne faites pas à autrui ce que vous ne voudriez pas qu'on vous fît; Faites constamment aux autres le bien que vous voudriez en recevoir. This is after all only an amplification of the Golden Rule.

tion of Rights had done, the great principles of the Revolution. The lawmaking power is vested by the Constitution of the Year III in a Legislative Body to be composed of two chambers, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Elders (consisting of two hundred and fifty members). Members of the latter were to be at least forty years old and either married or widowers. Practically all men over twenty-one years of age were permitted to vote for the members of the electoral colleges, which in turn chose the members of the Legislative Body. To take the place of a king, a Directory composed of five members chosen by the Legislative Body was invested with the executive power. One director was to retire each year, as well as one third of the members of the Legislative Body (a system suggesting that of the United States Senate).

Before the Convention completed the constitution its enemies had become very strong. The richer classes had once more got the upper hand; they abhorred the Convention, which had killed their king and oppressed them, and they favored the reëstablishment of the monarchy without the abuses of the *ancien régime*. The Convention, fearing for itself and the republic, decreed that in the approaching election, at least two thirds of the new Legislative Body were to be chosen from the existing members of the Convention. Believing that it could rely upon the armies, it ordered that the constitution should be submitted to the soldiers for ratification and that bodies of troops should be collected near Paris to maintain order during the elections. These decrees roused the anger of the wealthier districts of Paris, which did not hesitate to organize a revolt and prepare to attack the Convention.

The latter, however, chose for its defender a certain Napoleon Bonaparte, who had played a small part during the Reign of Terror, and who was at its close earning a bare subsistence as a clerk in a government office. Bonaparte stationed the regulars around the building in which the Convention sat

and then loaded his cannon with grapeshot. When the bourgeois national guard attacked him, he gave the order to fire and easily swept them from the streets.[1] The royalists were defeated. The day had been saved for the Convention by the army and by a military genius who was destined soon not only to make himself master of France but to build up an empire comprising a great part of western Europe.

[1] More people were killed on the 13th Vendémiaire than on August 10, 1792, when the monarchy was overthrown.

CHAPTER XXIX

RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

Bonaparte's Opening Successes

The aristocratic military leaders of old France had either fled across the frontier or been discredited along with the noble class, to which they belonged. Among the commanders who through exceptional ability arose in their stead, one was soon to dominate the history of Europe as no man before him had ever done. For fifteen years his biography and the political history of Europe are so nearly synonymous that the period we are now entering upon may properly be called after him, the Napoleonic Period.

Napoleon Bonaparte was hardly a Frenchman in origin. It is true that the island of Corsica, where he was born on August 15, 1769, had at that time belonged to France for a year. But Napoleon's native language was Italian; he was descended from Italian ancestors who had come to the island in the sixteenth century, and his career revives, on a magnificent scale, the ambitions and the policy of a *condottiere* despot of the fifteenth century (Vol. I, pp. 312 ff.).

When he was ten years old he was taken to France by his father. After learning a little of the French language, which it is said he never mastered perfectly, he was put into a military school where he remained for six years. He soon came to hate the young French aristocrats with whom he was associated. He wrote to his father, "I am tired of exposing my poverty and seeing these shameless boys laughing over it, who are superior to me only in their wealth, but infinitely beneath me in noble sentiments." Gradually the ambition to free his little island country from French control developed in him.

On completing his course in the military school Bonaparte was made second lieutenant. Poor and without influence, he had little hope of any considerable advancement in the French army, and he was drawn to his own country both by a desire to play a political rôle there and to help his family, which had been left in straitened circumstances by his father's death. He therefore absented himself from his command as often and as long as he could, and engaged in a series of intrigues in Corsica with a hope of getting control of the forces of the island. He fell out, however, with the local authorities; he and his family were banished in 1793 and fled to France.

The following three years were for Bonaparte a period of great uncertainty. He had lost his love for Corsica and he had as yet no foothold in France. He managed, however, to demonstrate his military skill and decision on two occasions and gained thereby the friendship of the Directory. In the spring of 1796 he was made by the Directory commander in chief of the army of Italy. This important appointment at the age of twenty-seven forms the opening of a military career which in extent and importance hardly finds a parallel in history, except that of Alexander the Great. And of all Bonaparte's campaigns, none is more astonishing perhaps than his first, that in Italy in 1796–1797.

After the armies raised by the Committee of Public Safety had driven back their enemies in the autumn of 1793, the French occupied the Austrian Netherlands, Holland, and that portion of Germany which lies on the left, or west, bank of the Rhine. Austria and Prussia were occupied with a new, and this time complete, partition of Poland. As Prussia had little real interest in the war with France, she soon concluded peace with the new republic, at Basel, April, 1795. Spain followed her example and left Austria, England, and Sardinia to carry on the war. General Bonaparte had to face the combined armies of Austria and of the king of Sardinia. By marching north from Savona he skillfully separated his two enemies,

forced the Sardinian troops back toward Turin, and compelled the king of Sardinia to conclude a truce with France.

This left him free to advance against the Austrians. These he outflanked and forced to retreat. On May 15, 1796, he entered Milan. The Austrian commander then shut himself

CENTRAL EUROPE TO ILLUSTRATE NAPOLEON'S CAMPAIGNS, 1796–1801

up in the strong fortress of Mantua, where Bonaparte promptly besieged him. There is no more fascinating chapter in the history of warfare than the story of the audacious maneuvers by which Bonaparte successfully repulsed four attempts on the part of the Austrians to relieve Mantua, which was finally forced to capitulate at the beginning of February of the following year. As soon as he had removed all danger of an

attack in the rear, the young French general led his army toward Vienna, and by April, 1797, the Austrian court was glad to sign a preliminary peace.

The provisions of the definitive peace which was concluded at Campo-Formio on October 17, 1797, illustrate the unscrupulous manner in which Austria and the French republic disposed of the helpless lesser states. It inaugurated the bewilderingly rapid territorial redistribution of Europe which was so characteristic of the Napoleonic period. Austria ceded to France the Austrian Netherlands and secretly agreed to use its good offices to secure for France a great part of the left bank of the Rhine. Austria also recognized the Cisalpine Republic which Bonaparte had created out of the smaller states of northern Italy, and which was to be under the "protection" of France. This new state included Milan, Modena, some of the papal dominions, and, lastly, a part of the possessions of the venerable and renowned but defenseless republic of Venice which Napoleon had ruthlessly destroyed. Austria received as a partial indemnity the rest of the possessions of the Venetian republic, including Venice itself.

Character and Ambitions of General Bonaparte

While the negotiations were going on at Campo-Formio, the young general had established a brilliant court. "His salons," an observer informs us, "were filled with a throng of generals, officials, and purveyors, as well as the highest nobility and the most distinguished men of Italy, who came to solicit the favor of a glance or a moment's conversation." He appears already to have conceived the rôle that he was to play later. We have a report of a most extraordinary conversation which occurred at this time.

> What I have done so far [he declared] is nothing. I am but at the opening of the career that I am to run. Do you suppose that I have gained my victories in Italy in order to advance the lawyers

of the Directory? . . . Do you think either that my object is to establish a republic? What a notion! . . . What the French want is Glory and the satisfaction of their vanity; as for Liberty, of that they have no conception. Look at the army! The victories that we have just gained have given the French soldier his true character. I am everything to him. Let the Directory attempt to deprive me of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head, a head who is rendered illustrious by glory and not by theories of government, fine phrases, or the talk of idealists, of which the French understand not a whit.

There is no doubt whom General Bonaparte had in mind when he spoke of the needed head of the French nation who should be "rendered illustrious by glory." This son of a poor Corsican lawyer, but yesterday a mere unlucky adventurer, had arranged his program; two years and a half later he was the master of the French republic.

We naturally ask what manner of person this was who could frame such audacious schemes at twenty-eight and realize them at thirty years of age. He was a little man, hardly more than five feet two inches in height. At this time he was extremely thin; but his striking features, his quick, searching eye, his abrupt, animated gestures, and his rapid speech, incorrect as it was, made a deep impression upon those who came in contact with him. He possessed in a supreme degree two qualities that are ordinarily incompatible: he was a dreamer, and at the same time a man whose practical skill and mastery of detail amounted to genius. He once told a friend that he was wont, when a poor lieutenant, to allow his imagination full play and fancy things just as he would have them; then he would coolly consider the exact steps to be taken if he were to try to make his dream come true.

In order to explain Bonaparte's success it must be remembered that he was not hampered or held back by the fear of doing wrong. He was utterly unscrupulous, whether dealing with an individual or with a nation, and appears to have been

absolutely without any sense of moral responsibility. Affection for his friends and relatives never stood in the way of his personal aggrandizement. To these traits must be added unrivaled military genius and the power of intense and almost continuous work.

But even Bonaparte, unexampled as were his abilities, could never have extended his power over all western Europe had it not been for the peculiar political weakness of most of the states with which he had to deal. There was no strong German Empire in his day, no united Italy, no kingdom of Belgium. The French republic was surrounded by petty independent, or practically independent, principalities which were defenseless against an unscrupulous invader. Prussia, as yet a rather small state, offered, as we shall see, no efficient opposition to the extension of French control. Austria had been forced to capitulate in 1797, after a short campaign, by an enemy far from its source of supplies and led by a young and inexperienced general.

Bonaparte, Chieftain of France

After arranging the Peace of Campo-Formio, General Bonaparte returned to Paris. He at once perceived that France, in spite of her enthusiasm for him, was not yet ready to accept him as her ruler. He saw, too, that he would soon sacrifice his prestige if he lived quietly in Paris like an ordinary person. His active mind soon conceived a plan which would forward his interests. France was still at war with Great Britain, its most persevering enemy during this period. Bonaparte convinced the Directory that England[1] could best be ruined in the long run by seizing Egypt and threatening her commerce through the Mediterranean, and perhaps ultimately her dominion in the East. Bonaparte, fascinated by the career of Alexander the

[1] It was *l'Angleterre* rather than Great Britain that Napoleon always had in mind, so it is best sometimes to use "England" in this and the following chapter when "Great Britain" would seem to be the more correct term.

Great, pictured himself riding to India on the back of an elephant and dispossessing England of her most precious colonial dependencies. He had, however, still another and a characteristic reason for undertaking the expedition. France was on the eve of a new war with the European powers. Bonaparte foresaw that if he could withdraw with him some of France's best officers, the Directory might soon find itself so embarrassed that he could return as a national savior. And even so it fell out.

BONAPARTE'S EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN

The French fleet left Toulon on May 19, 1798. It was so fortunate as to escape the English squadron under Nelson, which sailed by it in the night. Bonaparte arrived at Alexandria on July 1 and easily defeated the Turkish troops in the famous battle of the Pyramids. Meanwhile Nelson, who did not know the destination of the enemy's fleet, had returned from the Syrian coast, where he had looked for the French in vain. He discovered Bonaparte's ships in the harbor of Alexandria and annihilated them in the first battle of the Nile (August 1, 1798). The French troops were now completely cut off from Europe.

The Porte (that is, the Turkish government) declared war against France, and Bonaparte resolved to attack Turkey by land. He accordingly marched into Syria in the spring of 1799, but was repulsed at Acre, where the Turkish forces were aided by the English fleet. Pursued by pestilence, the army regained Cairo in June after terrible suffering and loss. It was

still strong enough to annihilate a Turkish army that landed at Alexandria; but news now reached Bonaparte from Europe which convinced him that the time had come for him to hasten back. Northern Italy, which he had won, was lost; the allies were about to invade France; and the Directory was completely demoralized. Bonaparte accordingly secretly deserted his army and, by a series of happy accidents, managed to reach France by October 9, 1799.

The Directory, one of the most corrupt and inefficient governmental bodies that the world has ever seen, had completely disgraced itself. Bonaparte readily found others to join with him in a conspiracy to overthrow it. A plan was formed for abruptly destroying the old government and replacing it by a new one without observing any constitutional forms. This is a procedure so familiar in France during the past century that it is known even in English as *coup d'état*. The conspirators had a good many friends in the two assemblies, especially among the "Elders." Nevertheless Bonaparte had to order his soldiers to invade the hall in which the Assembly of the Five Hundred was in session and scatter his opponents before he could accomplish his purpose. (This occurred on the 18th Brumaire of the republican calendar.) A chosen few were then reassembled under the presidency of Lucien Bonaparte, one of Napoleon's brothers, who was a member of the assembly. They voted to put the government in the hands of General Bonaparte and two others, to be called *Consuls*. These were to proceed, with the aid of a commission and of the "Elders," to draw up a new constitution.

The new constitution was a very cumbrous and elaborate one. It provided for no less than four assemblies: one to propose the laws, one to consider them, one to vote upon them, and one to decide on their constitutionality. But Bonaparte saw to it that as First Consul he himself had practically all the power in his own hands. The Council of State, to which he called talented men from all parties and over which he pre-

sided, was the most important of the governmental bodies. This body and the administrative system which he soon established have endured, with a few changes, down to the present day. There is no surer proof of Napoleon's genius than that, with no previous experience, he could conceive a plan of administration which should serve a great state like France, through all its vicissitudes, for a century.

In each of the departments into which France was divided he put an officer called a prefect; in each subdivision of the department, a subprefect. These, together with the mayors and the police commissioners of the towns, were all appointed by the First Consul. The prefects, "little First Consuls," as Bonaparte called them, resembled the intendants—the king's officers under the old régime. Indeed, the new government suggested in several important respects that of Louis XIV.

The new ruler objected as decidely as Louis XIV had done to the idea of being controlled by the people, who, he believed, knew nothing of public affairs. It was enough, he thought, if they were allowed to say whether they wished a certain form of government or not. He therefore introduced what he called a *plebiscite*. The new constitution when completed was submitted to the nation at large, and all were allowed to vote "yes" or "no" on the expediency of its adoption. Over three million voted in favor of it and only fifteen hundred and sixty-two against it. This did not necessarily mean, however, that practically the whole nation wished to have General Bonaparte as its ruler. A great many may have preferred what seemed to them an objectionable form of government to the risk of rejecting it. Herein lies the injustice of the plebiscite. There are many questions that cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no."

Yet the accession of the popular young general to power was undoubtedly grateful to the majority of citizens, who longed above all for a stable government. The Swedish envoy wrote just after the *coup d'état*:

A legitimate monarch has perhaps never found a people more ready to do his bidding than Bonaparte, and it would be inexcusable if this talented general did not take advantage of this to introduce a better form of government upon a firmer basis. It is literally true that France will perform impossibilities in order to aid him in this. The people (with the exception of a despicable horde of anarchists) are so sick and weary of revolutionary horrors and folly that they believe that any change cannot fail to be for the better. . . . Even the royalists, whatever their views may be, are sincerely devoted to Bonaparte, for they attribute to him the intention of gradually restoring the old order of things. The indifferent element cling to him as the one most likely to give France peace. The enlightened republicans, although they tremble for their form of government, prefer to see a single man of talent possess himself of the power rather than a club of intriguers.

Europe enjoys a Brief General Peace

Upon becoming First Consul, General Bonaparte found France at war with Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Turkey, and Naples. These powers had formed a coalition in December, 1798, had defeated the armies that the Directory sent against them, and had undone Bonaparte's work in Italy. It now devolved upon him to reëstablish the prestige of France abroad, as well as to restore order and prosperity at home. A successful campaign would, moreover, fill the empty treasury of the state; for Bonaparte always exacted large contributions from the defeated enemy and from those of his allies, like the ephemeral Cisalpine Republic, who were under the "protection" of France. Besides, he must keep himself before the people as a military hero if he wished to maintain his supremacy.

Early in the year 1800 Bonaparte began secretly to collect an army near Dijon. This he proposed to direct against an Austrian army which was besieging the French general Masséna in Genoa. Instead of marching straight into Italy, as

would have been most natural, the First Consul resolved to take the Austrian forces in the rear. Emulating Hannibal, he led his troops over the famous Alpine pass of the Great St. Bernard, dragging his cannon over in the trunks of trees which had been hollowed out for the purpose. He arrived safely in Milan on the second of June to the utter astonishment of the Austrians, who were taken completely by surprise.

Bonaparte now moved westward; but in his uncertainty as to the exact whereabouts of the Austrians, he divided his force when near the village of Marengo (June 14) and sent a contingent under Desaix southward to head off the enemy in that direction. In the meantime the whole Austrian army approached from Alessandria, and the engagement began. The Austrians at first repulsed the French, and Bonaparte saw all his great plans in jeopardy as he vainly besought his soldiers to make another stand. The defeat was soon turned, however, into one of the most brilliant victories; for Desaix had heard the firing and returned with his division. Meanwhile the aged and infirm Austrian commander had returned to Alessandria, supposing that the battle was won. The result was that the French troops, reënforced, returned to the attack and carried all before them. The brave Desaix, who had really saved the day, was killed; Bonaparte simply said nothing of his own temporary defeat, and added one more to the list of his great military successes. A truce was signed next day, and the Austrians retreated behind the river Mincio, leaving Bonaparte to restore French influence in Lombardy. The districts that he had "freed" had to support his army, and the reëstablished Cisalpine Republic was forced to pay a monthly tax of two million francs.

A victory gained by the French at Hohenlinden in December of the same year brought Austria to terms, and she agreed to conclude a separate peace with the French republic. This was the beginning of a general pacification. During the year

1801 treaties were signed with all the powers with which France had been at war, even with Great Britain, which had not laid down its arms since war was first declared in 1793.

Among many merely transitory results of these treaties, there were two provisions of momentous import. The first of these, Spain's cession of Louisiana to France in exchange for certain advantages in Italy, does not concern us here directly. But when war again broke out, Bonaparte sold the district to the United States, and among the many transfers of territory that he made during his reign, none was more important than this. We must, however, treat with some detail the second of the great changes, which led to the complete reorganization of Germany and ultimately rendered possible the creation of a powerful German Empire.

Bonaparte begins the Consolidation of Germany

In the Treaty of Lunéville, February, 1801, the Emperor had agreed on his own part, as the ruler of Austria, and on the part of the Holy Roman Empire that the French republic should thereafter possess in full sovereignty those territories of the Empire which lay on the left bank of the Rhine, and that the Rhine should form the boundary of France from the point where it left the Helvetic Republic to the point where it entered the Batavian Republic. As an inevitable consequence of this cession numerous rulers and towns—nearly a hundred in number—found themselves wholly or in part dispossessed of their lands. The territories involved included the Palatinate and the duchy of Jülich (both of which then belonged to Bavaria), the possessions of the archbishops of Trèves and Cologne and of the bishop of Liége, the ancient free cities of Worms, Speyer, and Cologne, Prussia's duchy of Cleves, besides the tiny realms of dozens of counts and abbots.

The Empire bound itself by the treaty to furnish the *hereditary* princes who had been forced to give up their territories

to France "an indemnity within the Empire." Those who did not belong to the class of hereditary rulers were of course the bishops and abbots and the free cities. The ecclesiastical princes were forbidden as clergymen to marry and consequently could have no lawful heirs. Hence if they were deprived of their realms they might be adequately indemnified by a pension for life, with no fear of injustice to their heirs, since they could have none. As for the towns, once so prosperous and important, they now seemed to the more powerful rulers of Germany scarcely worth considering. Indeed, it appeared absurd at the opening of the nineteenth century that a single town should be permitted to constitute an independent state with its own system of coinage and its particular customs lines.

There was, however, no unoccupied land within the Empire with which to indemnify even the hereditary princes, such as the elector of Bavaria, the margrave of Baden, the king of Prussia, or the Emperor himself, who had seen their possessions on the left bank of the Rhine divided up into French departments. It was understood by France and by the princes concerned that the ecclesiastical rulers and the free towns should pay the costs of this cession by sacrificing their territories on the *right* bank as well as on the *left*. The *secularization* of the Church lands (as the process of transferring them to lay rulers was called) and the annexation of the free towns implied a veritable revolution in the old Holy Roman Empire.

A commission of German princes was appointed to undertake the reconstruction of the map; and the final distribution was preceded by an undignified scramble among the hereditary rulers for bits of territory. All turned to Paris for favors, since it was really the First Consul and his minister, Talleyrand, who determined the distribution. Needy princelings are said to have caressed Talleyrand's poodle and played "drop the handkerchief" with his niece in the hope of adding a monastery

or a shabby village to their share. At last the Imperial Commission, with France's help, finished its intricate task, and the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* (as the outcome of their labors was officially called) was ratified by the diet in 1803.

All the ecclesiastical states except Mainz were turned over to lay rulers, and of the forty-eight imperial cities only six were left. Three of these—Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck —still exist as members of the new German Republic. No map could make clear all the shiftings of territory which the Imperial Commission sanctioned. A few examples will serve to illustrate the complexity of their procedure and the previously existing microscopic divisions of the Empire.[1]

Prussia received in return for Cleves and other small territories the bishoprics of Hildesheim and Paderborn, a part of the bishopric of Münster and of the lands of the archbishop of Mainz, the territories of the abbots, or abbesses, of Herford, Quedlinburg, Elten, Essen, Werden, and Kappenberg, and the free towns of Mühlhausen, Nordhausen, and Goslar,—over four times the area that she had lost. The elector of Bavaria, for more considerable sacrifices on the left bank, was rewarded with the bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, Freising, Augsburg, and Passau, besides the lands of twelve abbots and of seventeen free towns, which materially extended his boundaries. Austria got the bishoprics of Brixen and Trent; the duke of Württemberg and the margrave of Baden also rounded out and consolidated their dominions. A host of princes and counts received their little allotments of land or were assigned an income of a few thousand gulden to solace their woes,[2] but the more important rulers carried off the lion's share of the spoils. Bonaparte wished to add Parma as well as Piedmont to France, so the

[1] See Shepherd, *Historical Atlas.*

[2] For example, the prince of Bretzenheim, for the loss of the villages of Bretzenheim and Winzenheim, was given a "princely" nunnery on the Lake of Constance; the poor princess of Isenburg, countess of Parkstein, who lost a part of the tiny Reipoltskirchen, received an annuity of twenty-three thousand gulden and a share in the tolls paid by boats on the Rhine; and so on.

duke of Parma was given Tuscany, and the grand duke of Tuscany was indemnified with the archbishopric of Salzburg.[1]

These bewildering details are only given here to make clear the hopelessly minute subdivision of the old Holy Roman Empire and the importance of the partial amalgamation which took place in 1803. One hundred and twelve sovereign and independent states lying to the east of the Rhine were wiped out by being annexed to larger states, such as Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, and so on, and nearly a hundred more had disappeared when the left bank of the Rhine was converted into departments by the French.

Although Germany never sank to a lower degree of national degradation than at this period, this consolidation was nevertheless the beginning of her political regeneration. Bonaparte, it is true, hoped to weaken rather than to strengthen the Empire; for by increasing the territory and the power of the southern states—Bavaria, Württemberg, Hesse, and Baden—he expected to gain the permanent friendship of their rulers and so create a "third Germany," which he could play off against Austria and Prussia. He succeeded for a time in this design, but the consolidation of 1803 paved the way, as we shall see, for the creation sixty-seven years later of the present German Empire.[2]

[1] As for the *knights*, who were the least among the German rulers, those who had lost their few acres on the left bank were not indemnified, and within the next two or three years those on the right bank were quietly deprived of their political rights by the princes within whose territories they happened to lie.

[2] Although Germany became a republic after the World War it is still known by its former name, *Das Deutsche Reich.*

CHAPTER XXX

EUROPE DURING THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

Bonaparte restores Order and Prosperity in France

Bonaparte was by no means merely a military genius; he was a distinguished statesman as well. He found France in a sad plight after ten years of rapid and radical change, incompetent government, and general disorder. The turmoil of the Reign of Terror had been followed by the mismanagement and corruption of the Directory. There had been no opportunity to perfect the elaborate and thoroughgoing reforms introduced by the first National Assembly, and the work of the Revolution remained but half done. Bonaparte's officials reported to him that the highways were infested with murderous bands of robbers, that the roads and bridges were dilapidated and the harbors filled with sand. The manufacturers and business men were discouraged, and industry was demoralized.

The financial situation was intolerable. The disorder had reached such a pitch that scarcely any taxes were paid in the year 1800. The *assignats* had so depreciated in March, 1796, that three hundred francs in paper were required to procure one in gold. Thereupon the Directory had withdrawn them at one thirtieth of their value and substituted another kind of paper money, which rapidly declined in value in the same way that the *assignats* had depreciated. The hard-beset government had issued all sorts of government securities, which were at a hopeless discount, and had repudiated a considerable part of the public debt.

The First Consul and his able ministers began at once to devise measures to remedy the difficulties, and his officials,

scattered throughout France, saw to it that the new laws were enforced. The police was everywhere reorganized, and robbers were brought to summary justice. The tax rate was fixed, and the taxes were regularly collected. A sinking fund was established which was designed gradually to extinguish the public debt; this served to raise the credit of the state. New government securities replaced the old ones, and a Bank of France was founded to stimulate business. The Directory had so grossly mismanaged the disposal of the lands of the clergy and emigrant nobles that they had brought in very little to the government. Bonaparte carefully cherished what remained unsold and made the most of them.

In no respect had the revolutionary governments been less successful than in dealing with the Church. We have seen how those priests who refused to swear to support the Civil Constitution of the Clergy had been persecuted. After Hébert's attempt to replace Christianity by the worship of Reason and the attempt of Robespierre to establish a new deistic worship of the Supreme Being, the Catholic churches began early in 1795 to be opened once more, and the Convention declared (February 21, 1795) that the government would no longer concern itself with religion; it would not in the future pay salaries to any clergyman, and everyone should be free to worship in any way he pleased.[1] Thereupon both the "constitutional" and the nonjuring clergy began actively to reorganize

[1] This first law separating Church and State is interesting in view of the separation of Church and State which was finally carried out in France at the opening of the twentieth century. The Convention's decree read as follows: "No form of worship shall be interfered with. The Republic will subsidize none of them. It will furnish no buildings for religious exercises nor any dwellings for clergymen. The ceremonies of all religions are forbidden outside of the confines of the place chosen for their performance. The law recognizes no minister of religion and no one is to appear in public with costumes or ornaments used in religious ceremonies." The Convention gruffly added other limitations on religious practices. It required, for example, that all services be conducted in a semi-private manner, with none of the old gorgeous display or public ceremonials and processions.

their churches. But while thousands of priests managed to perform their duties the Convention, and later the Directory, continued to persecute those who did not take a new oath to submit to the laws of the republic, and many suspected of hostility to the government were exiled or imprisoned.

General Bonaparte, although himself a deist, nevertheless fully appreciated the importance of gaining the support of the Church and the Pope, and consequently, immediately upon becoming First Consul, he set to work to settle the religious difficulties. He freed the imprisoned priests upon their promising not to oppose the constitution, and those who had been exiled began to return in considerable numbers after the 18th Brumaire. Sunday, which had been abolished by the republican calendar (see page 251, note, above), was once more generally observed; and all the revolutionary holidays, except July 14, the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, and September 22, the first day of the republican year, were done away with.

A formal treaty with the Pope, known as the *Concordat*, was concluded in September, 1801, which was destined to remain in force for over a hundred years. It declared that the Roman Catholic religion was that of the great majority of the French citizens and that its rites might be freely observed; that the Pope and the French government should arrange a new division of the country into bishoprics; that the bishops should be appointed by the First Consul and confirmed by the Pope, and the priests should be chosen by the bishops. Both bishops and priests were to receive a suitable remuneration from the government, but were to be required to swear to support the constitution of the republic. The churches which had not been sold should be put at the disposition of the bishops, but the Pope agreed never to disturb in any way those who had acquired the former property of the clergy.

It is to be observed that Bonaparte showed no inclination to separate Church and State, but carefully brought the Church under the control of the State by vesting the appointment of

the bishops in the head of the government—the First Consul. The Pope's confirmation was likely to be a mere form. The bishops were to choose no priests who were not agreeable to the government, nor was any papal bull or decree to be published in France without its permission.[1]

In some ways the arrangements of the Concordat of 1801 resembled those which prevailed under the *ancien régime*; but the Revolution had swept away the whole medieval substructure of the Church, its lands and feudal rights, the tithes, the monks and nuns with their irrevocable vows enforced by law, the Church courts, the monopoly of religion, and the right to persecute heretics,—all these had disappeared, and General Bonaparte saw no reason for restoring any of them.

As for the emigrant nobles, Bonaparte decreed that no more names should be added to the lists. The striking of names from the list, and the return of confiscated lands that had not already been sold, he made favors to be granted by himself. Parents and relatives of emigrants were no longer to be regarded as incapable of holding public offices. In April, 1802, a general amnesty was issued, and no less than forty thousand families returned to France.

There was a gradual reaction from some of the innovations of the Reign of Terror. The old titles of address, Monsieur and Madame, again came into use instead of the revolutionary "Citizen." Streets which had been rebaptized with republican names resumed their former names. Old titles of nobility were revived, and something very like a royal court began to develop at the Palace of the Tuileries; for Bonaparte, in all but his title, was already a king, and his wife Josephine a queen.

It had been clear for some years that the nation was weary of political agitation. How great a blessing, after the anarchy

[1] In the "Organic articles" which, at the instigation of the First Consul, were passed by the Legislative Body, all the old Gallican liberties were reaffirmed and all the teachers in the theological seminaries were to subscribe to, and agree to inculcate, the Declaration of 1682 (see page 177, above).

of the past, to put all responsibility upon one who showed himself capable of concluding a long war with unprecedented glory for France and of reëstablishing order and the security of person and property, the necessary conditions for renewed prosperity! How natural that the French should welcome a despotism to which they had been accustomed for centuries, after suffering as they had under nominally republican institutions!

One of the greatest and most permanent of Bonaparte's achievements still remains to be noted. The heterogeneous laws of the old régime had been much modified by the legislation of the successive assemblies. All this needed a final revision, and Bonaparte appointed a commission to undertake this task. Their draft of the new code was discussed in the Council of State, and the First Consul had many suggestions to make. The resulting codification of the civil law—the *Code Napoléon*—is still used today, not only in France but also, with some modifications, in Bavaria, Baden, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and even in the state of Louisiana. The criminal and commercial law was also codified. These codes carried with them into foreign lands the principles of equality upon which they were based, and thus diffused the benefits of the Revolution beyond the borders of France.

Bonaparte had always shown the instincts of a despotic ruler, and France really ceased to be a republic except in name after the 18th Brumaire. The First Consul was able to bring about changes, one by one, in the constitution, which rendered his own power more and more absolute. In 1802 he was appointed Consul for life, with the right to choose his successor. But this did not satisfy his insatiable ambition. He longed to be a monarch in name as well as in fact. He believed heartily in kingship and was not averse to its traditional splendor, its palaces, ermine robes, and gaudy courtiers. A royalist plot gave him an excuse for secretly urging that he be made emperor. France might, he argued, be replunged into civil war as long as

there was any chance of overthrowing the government. The only safety for a great nation lay in hereditary power "which can alone assure a continuous political life which may endure for generations, even for centuries." The Senate was induced to ask him (May, 1804) to accept the title of "Emperor of the French," which he was to hand down to his children or adopted heirs.[1]

On December 2, 1804, General Bonaparte was crowned in the Cathedral of Notre Dame as Napoleon I, Emperor of the French. The Pope consented to grace the occasion; but the new monarch seized the golden laurel chaplet before the Pope could take it up, and placed it on his own head, since he wished the world to understand that he owed the crown not to the head of the Church, but to his own sagacity and military genius. A royal court was reëstablished in the Tuileries; and Ségur, an emigrant noble, and Madame de Campan, one of Marie Antoinette's ladies-in-waiting who had been earning an honest livelihood by conducting a girls' school, were called in to show the new courtiers how to deport themselves according to the rules of etiquette which had prevailed before the red cap of liberty had come into fashion. A new nobility was established to take the place of that abolished by the first National Assembly in 1790: Bonaparte's uncle was made Grand Almoner; Talleyrand, Lord High Chamberlain; General Duroc, High Constable; and fourteen of the most important generals were exalted to the rank of Marshals of France. The stanch republicans, who had believed that the court pageantry of the *old régime* had gone for good, were either disgusted or amused by these proceedings. But Emperor Napoleon would brook no strictures or sarcastic comment.

From this time on he became increasingly tyrannical and hostile to criticism. At the very beginning of his administration he had suppressed a great part of the numerous political newspapers and forbidden the establishment of new ones. As

[1] Josephine had borne him no children.

emperor he showed himself still more exacting. His police furnished the news to the papers and carefully omitted all that might offend their suspicious master. Napoleon ordered the journals to "put in quarantine all news that might be disadvantageous or disagreeable to France."[1] He would have liked to suppress all newspapers but one, which should be used for official purposes.

Napoleon's War with Austria (1805)

A great majority of the French undoubtedly longed for peace, but Napoleon's position made war a personal necessity for him. No one saw this more clearly than he. In the summer of 1802 he said to his Council of State:

> If the European states intend ever to renew the war, the sooner it comes the better. Every day the remembrance of their defeats grows dimmer and at the same time the prestige of our victories pales. . . . France needs glorious deeds, and hence war. She must be the first among the states or she is lost. I shall put up with peace as long as our neighbors can maintain it, but I shall regard it as an advantage if they force me to take up my arms again before they rust. . . . In our position I shall look on each conclusion of peace as simply a short armistice, and I regard myself as destined during my term of office to fight almost without intermission.

On another occasion, in 1804, Napoleon said:

> There will be no rest in Europe until it is under a single chief — an emperor who shall have kings for officers, who shall distribute kingdoms to his lieutenants, and shall make this one king of Italy, that one of Bavaria; this one ruler of Switzerland, that one governor of Holland, each having an office of honor in the imperial household.

This was the ideal that he now found himself in a position to carry out with marvelous exactness.

[1] When the French fleet was annihilated by Nelson at Trafalgar in 1805, the event was not mentioned in the *Moniteur*, the official newspaper.

There were many reasons why the peace with Great Britain (concluded at Amiens in March, 1802) should be speedily broken, especially as the First Consul was not averse to a renewal of the war. The obvious intention of Napoleon to bring as much of Europe under his control as he could, and the imposition of high duties on English goods in those territories that he already controlled, filled commercial and industrial England with apprehension. The English people longed for peace, but peace appeared only to offer an opportunity to Napoleon to develop French commerce at their expense. This was the secret of England's pertinacity. All the other European powers concluded treaties with Napoleon at some time during his reign. Great Britain alone did not lay down her arms a second time until the Emperor of the French was a prisoner.

War was renewed between Great Britain and France in May, 1803. Bonaparte promptly occupied Hanover, of which it will be remembered that the English king was elector, and declared the coast blockaded from Hanover to Otranto. Holland, Spain, and the Ligurian Republic (formerly the republic of Genoa) were, by hook or by crook, induced to agree to furnish each their contingent of men or money to the French army and to exclude English ships from their ports.

To cap the climax Great Britain was alarmed by the appearance of a French army at Boulogne, just across the Channel. A great number of flatboats were collected, and troops were trained to embark and disembark. Apparently Napoleon harbored the firm purpose of invading the British Isles. Yet the transportation of a large body of troops across the English Channel, trifling as is the distance, would have been very hazardous, and by many it was deemed downright impossible.[1] No one knows whether Napoleon really intended to make the trial. It is quite possible that his main purpose in collecting an army

[1] The waves and currents caused by winds and tides make the Channel very uncertain for all navigation except by steam. Robert Fulton offered to put his newly invented steamboat at Napoleon's disposal, but his offer was declined.

at Boulogne was to have it in readiness for the Continental war which he saw immediately ahead of him. He succeeded, at any rate, in terrifying Great Britain, who prepared to defend her coasts against the French invaders.

The new Tsar, Alexander I,[1] had submitted a plan for the reconciliation of France and Great Britain in August, 1803; the rejection of this, the continued aggressions of Napoleon, and, above all, his shocking execution of the duke of Enghien, a Bourbon prince whom he had arrested on the ground that he was plotting against the First Consul, roused the Tsar's indignation and led him to conclude an alliance with Great Britain, the objects of which were the expulsion of the French from Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Hanover and the settlement of European affairs upon a sound and permanent basis by a great international congress.

Russia and Great Britain were immediately joined by Austria, who found Napoleon intent upon developing in northern Italy a strong power which would threaten her borders. He had been crowned king of Italy in May, 1805, and had annexed the Ligurian Republic to France. There were rumors, too, that he was planning to seize the Venetian territories which had been assigned to Austria at Campo-Formio. The timid king of Prussia, Frederick William III, could not be induced to join the alliance, nor would he ally himself with Napoleon, although he was offered the electorate of Hanover, a very substantial inducement. He persisted in maintaining a neutrality which was to cost him dear.

Napoleon had been endeavoring to get the advantage of the British on the sea, for there was no possibility of ferrying his armies across to Great Britain so long as British men-of-war were blockading the French squadrons and guarding the Channel. His efforts to free the French ships and concentrate them in the Channel proved vain, for Lord Cornwallis continued to

[1] Alexander had succeeded his father, Paul, when the latter was assassinated in a palace plot, March, 1801.

blockade one fleet in Brest, and the other was forced to take refuge in the harbor of Cadiz, where Lord Nelson watched it. These circumstances and the approach of the Austrian army through southern Germany, in 1805, led Napoleon to give up all thought of invading England and to turn his whole attention toward the east.

He misled Austria by massing troops about Strasbourg and pretending that he was going to march through the Black Forest. Consequently the Austrian general, Mack, concentrated his forces about Ulm in order to be ready for the French when they should appear. Napoleon was, however, really taking his armies around to the north through Mainz and Coblenz, so that he occupied Munich on October 14, and cut off the Austrians from Vienna by somewhat the same maneuvers that he had used when he crossed the St. Bernard pass in 1800. He then moved westward; and six days later General Mack, finding himself surrounded and shut up in Ulm, was forced to capitulate, and Napoleon made prisoners of a whole Austrian army, sixty thousand strong, without losing more than a few hundred of his own men. The French could now safely march down the Danube to Vienna, which they reached on October 31.

Emperor Francis II had retired before the approaching enemy and was concentrating his troops north of Vienna in Moravia. Here he had been joined by the Russian army. The allies determined to risk a battle with the French and occupied a favorable position on a hill near the village of Austerlitz, which was to be made forever famous by the terrible winter battle which occurred there on December 2, 1805. The Russians having descended the hill to attack the weaker wing of Napoleon's army, the French occupied the heights which the Russians had deserted, and poured a deadly fire upon the enemy's rear. The allies were routed, and thousands of their troops were drowned as they sought to escape across the thin ice of a little lake which lay at the foot of the hill. The Tsar

withdrew the remnants of his forces, and the Emperor in despair agreed to a humiliating peace, the Treaty of Pressburg.

By this treaty Austria recognized all Napoleon's changes in Italy, and ceded to his kingdom of Italy that portion of the Venetian territory which she had received at Campo-Formio. Moreover, she ceded Tyrol to Bavaria, which was friendly to Napoleon, and other of her possessions to Württemberg and Baden, also friends of the French emperor. As head of the Holy Roman Empire, Francis II also agreed that the rulers of Bavaria and Württemberg should be raised to the rank of kings, and that they and the grand duke of Baden should enjoy "the plenitude of sovereignty" and all rights derived therefrom, precisely as did the rulers of Austria and Prussia.

The End of the Holy Roman Empire

These provisions of the Treaty of Pressburg, 1805, are of vital importance in the history of Germany. By explicitly declaring several of the larger of the German states altogether independent of the Emperor, Napoleon prepared the way for the formation in Germany of another dependency which, like Holland and the kingdom of Italy, should support France in future wars. In the summer of 1806 Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and thirteen lesser German states united into a league known as the Confederation of the Rhine. This union was to be under the "protection" of the French emperor and to furnish him with sixty-three thousand soldiers, who were to be organized by French officers and to be at his disposal when he needed them.

On August 1, 1806, Napoleon announced to the diet of the Holy Roman Empire at Ratisbon that he had, "in the dearest interests of his people and of his neighbors," accepted the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and that he could therefore no longer recognize the existence of the Holy Roman Empire, which had long been merely a shadow of its

former self. A considerable number of its members had become sovereign powers, and its continuation could only be a source of dissension and confusion.

The Emperor, Francis II, like his Hapsburg predecessors for several hundred years, was the ruler of the various Austrian dominions. He was officially known as King of Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Galicia, and Laodomeria, Duke of Lorraine, Venice, Salzburg, etc. When, however, the First Consul assumed as ruler of France the title of "Emperor of the French," Francis determined to substitute for his long array of individual titles the brief and dignified formula Hereditary Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.

After the Treaty of Pressburg and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine, he became convinced of the utter impossibility of longer fulfilling the duties of his office as head of the Holy Roman Empire and accordingly abdicated on August 6, 1806. In this way he formally put an end to a line of rulers who had, for well-nigh eighteen centuries, proudly maintained that they were the successors of Augustus Cæsar, the first Roman Emperor. The slight bond that had held the practically independent German states together was now dissolved, and the way was left clear for a series of reconstructions which resulted in the formation of a new and powerful German Empire with the king of Prussia at its head. The story of this will be taken up later (see Chapter XXXII).

Napoleon humiliates Prussia and makes Terms with the Tsar (1806–1807)

Napoleon went on steadily developing what he called "the real French Empire"; namely, the dependent states under his control which lay outside the bounds of France itself. Immediately after the battle of Austerlitz he had proclaimed that Ferdinand IV, the Bourbon king of Naples, had ceased to reign. He ordered one of his generals to proceed to southern

Italy, and "hurl from the throne that guilty woman," Queen Caroline, who had favored the English and entertained Lord Nelson. In March he appointed his elder brother, Joseph, king of Naples and Sicily, and a younger brother, Louis, king of Holland.

One of the most important of the Continental states, it will have been noticed, had taken no part as yet in the opposition to the extension of Napoleon's influence. Prussia, the first power to conclude peace with the new French republic in 1795, had since that time maintained a strict neutrality. Had it yielded to Tsar Alexander's persuasions and joined the coalition in 1805, it might have turned the tide of Austerlitz, or at any rate have encouraged further resistance to the conqueror. The hesitation of Frederick William III at that juncture proved a grave mistake, for Napoleon now forced him into war at a time when he could look for no efficient assistance from Russia or the other powers.

The immediate cause of the declaration of war was the disposal of Hanover. This electorate Frederick William had consented to hold provisionally, pending its possible transfer to him should the English king give his assent. Prussia was anxious to get possession of Hanover, because it lay just between her older possessions and the territory which she had gained in the redistribution of 1803.

Napoleon, as usual, did not fail either to see or to use his advantage. His conduct toward Prussia was most insolent. After setting her at enmity with Great Britain and promising that she should have Hanover, he unblushingly offered to restore the electorate to George III. His insults now began to arouse the national spirit in Prussia; and the reluctant Frederick William was forced by the party in favor of war, which included his beautiful queen, Louise, and the great statesman Stein, to break with Napoleon.

The Prussian army was, however, as has been well said, "only that of Frederick the Great grown twenty years older";

one of Frederick's generals, the aged duke of Brunswick, who had issued the famous manifesto in 1792, was its leader. A double defeat near Jena (October 14, 1806) put Prussia entirely in the hands of her enemy. This one disaster produced complete demoralization throughout the country. Fortresses were surrendered without resistance, and the king fled to the uttermost parts of his realm on the Russian boundary.

After crushing Prussia, Napoleon led his army into what had once been the kingdom of Poland. Here he spent a winter of great hardships and dangers in operations against the Russians and their feeble allies, the Prussians. He closed a difficult campaign far from France by the signal victory of Friedland (not far from Königsberg) and then arranged for an interview with the Tsar. The two rulers met on a raft in the river Niemen (June 25, 1807), and there privately arranged the provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit between France, Russia, and Prussia. The Tsar, Alexander I, was completely won over by Napoleon's skillful diplomacy. He shamefully deserted his helpless ally, Frederick William III of Prussia, and turned against Great Britain, whose subsidies he had been accepting.

Napoleon had no mercy upon Prussia, which he ruthlessly dismembered by depriving it of all its possessions west of the river Elbe, and all that it had gained in the second and third partitions of Poland. From the lands which he forced Frederick William to cede to him at Tilsit, Napoleon established two new French dependencies by forming the Polish territories into the grand duchy of Warsaw, of which his friend, the king of Saxony, was made ruler; and creating from the western territory (to which he later added Hanover) the kingdom of Westphalia for his brother Jerome.

Russia, on the other hand, he treated with marked consideration, and proposed that he and the Tsar should form an alliance which would enable him to have his way in western Europe and Alexander to have his in the east. The Tsar consented to the dismemberment of Prussia and agreed to recog-

nize all the sweeping changes which Napoleon had made during previous years. He secretly promised, if George III refused to conclude peace, to join France against England and to force Denmark and Portugal to exclude English ships from their ports. In this way England would be cut off from all western Europe, since Napoleon would have the whole coast practically under his control. In return for these promises Napoleon engaged to aid the Tsar in seizing Finland from Sweden and annexing the so-called Danubian provinces,—Moldavia and Wallachia,—which belonged to the Sultan of Turkey.[1]

The Continental Blockade

In arranging the Treaty of Tilsit it is evident that Napoleon had constantly in mind his most persistent and inaccessible enemy, Great Britain. However marvelous his successes by land might be, he had no luck on the sea. He had beheld his Egyptian fleet sink under Nelson's attack in 1798. When he was making preparations to transport his army across the Channel in 1805, he was humiliated to discover that the English were keeping his main squadron penned up in the harbors of Brest and Cadiz. The day after he captured General Mack's whole army with such ease at Ulm, Nelson had annihilated off Cape Trafalgar the French squadron which had ventured out from Cadiz. After Tilsit, Napoleon set himself more earnestly than ever to bring Great Britain to terms by ruining her commerce and industry, since he had no hope of subduing her by arms. He proposed to make "that race of shopkeepers" cry for peace by absolutely cutting them off from trade with the Continent of Europe and so drying up their sources of prosperity.

In May, 1806, Great Britain had declared the coast from the mouth of the Elbe to Brest to be "blockaded"; that is to say, she gave warning that her war vessels and privateers would capture any vessel that attempted to enter or leave any of the

[1] They now form the basis of the kingdom of Rumania.

ports between these two points. After he had won the battle of Jena, Napoleon replied to this by his Berlin Decree (November, 1806), in which he proclaimed that England had "disregarded all ideas of justice and every high sentiment which civilization should bring to mankind"; that it was a monstrous abuse on her part to declare great stretches of coast in a state of blockade which her whole fleet would be unable to enforce. Nevertheless he believed it a natural right to use the same measures against her that she employed against him. He therefore retaliated by declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade and forbidding all commerce with them. Letters or packages addressed to England or to an Englishman, or even written in the English language, were not to be permitted to pass through the mails in the countries he controlled. All trade in English goods was prohibited. Any British subject discovered in the countries occupied by French troops, or in the territories of Napoleon's allies, was to be regarded as a prisoner of war and his property as a lawful prize. This was, of course, only a "paper" blockade, since France and her allies could do little more than capture, now and then, some unfortunate vessel which was supposed to be coming from, or bound to, an English port.

A year later Great Britain established a similar paper blockade of the ports of the French Empire and its allies, but hit upon the happy idea of permitting the ships of neutral powers to proceed, provided that they touched at a British port, secured a license from the British government, and paid a heavy export duty. Napoleon was ready with a still more outrageous measure. In a decree issued from "our royal palace at Milan" (December, 1807), he ordered that all vessels, of whatever nationality, which submitted to the humiliating regulations of England should be regarded as lawful prizes by the French privateers.

The ships of the United States were at this time the most numerous and important of the neutral vessels carrying on the

world's trade, and a very hard time they had between the Scylla of the British orders and the Charybdis of Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees. The Baltimore *Evening Post* in September, 1808, calculated that if an American ship bound for Holland with four hundred hogsheads of tobacco should decide to meet England's requirements and touch at London on the way, its owners would pay one and a half pence a pound on the tobacco and twelve shillings for each ton of the ship. With a hundred dollars for England's license to proceed on her way, and sundry other dues, the total would come to about thirteen thousand dollars. On the way home, if the neutral vessel wished to avoid the chance of capture by an English cruiser, she might pay, perhaps, sixteen thousand five hundred dollars more to England for the privilege of returning to Baltimore with a cargo of Holland gin. This would make the total contributions paid to Great Britain for a single voyage about thirty thousand dollars.

Alarmed and exasperated at the conduct of England and France, the Congress of the United States, at the suggestion of President Jefferson, passed an embargo act (December, 1807) which forbade all vessels to leave port. It was hoped that this would prevent the further loss of American ships and at the same time so interfere with the trade of England and France that they would make some concessions. But the only obvious result was the destruction of the previously flourishing commerce of the Atlantic coast towns, especially in New England. Early in 1809 Congress was induced to permit trade once more with the European nations, excepting France and England, whose vessels were still to be strictly excluded from all the ports of the United States.

Napoleon expressed the utmost confidence in his plan of ruining England by cutting her off from the Continent. He was cheered to observe that a pound sterling was no longer worth twenty-five francs but only seventeen, and that the discouraged English merchants were beginning to urge Parliament

to conclude peace. In order to cripple England permanently he proposed to wean Europe from the use of those colonial products with which it had been supplied by English ships. He therefore encouraged the substitution of chicory for coffee, the cultivation of the sugar beet, and the discovery of new dyes to replace those—such as indigo and cochineal—which came from the tropics. This "Continental System" caused a great deal of distress and discontent and contributed to Napoleon's downfall, inasmuch as he had to resort to despotic measures to break up the old system of trade. Then he was led to make continual additions to his already unwieldy empire in order to get control of the whole coast line of western Europe, from the boundaries of Prussia round to those of the Turkish Empire.

Napoleon at the Zenith of his Power (1808–1812)

France owed much to Napoleon, for he had restored order and guaranteed many of the beneficent achievements of the Revolution of 1789. His boundless ambition was, it is true, sapping her strength by forcing younger and younger men into his armies to build up the vast international federation which he planned. But his victories and the commanding position to which he had raised France could not but fill the nation with pride.

He sought to gain popular approval by great public improvements. He built magnificent roads along the Rhine and the Mediterranean and across the Alps which still fill the traveler with admiration. He beautified Paris by opening up wide streets and quays and by constructing bridges and triumphal arches that kept fresh in the people's minds the recollection of his victories. By these means he gradually converted a medieval town into the most beautiful of modern capitals.

In order to be sure that the young people were brought up to venerate his name and support his government, Napoleon completely reorganized the schools and colleges of France.

These he consolidated into a single "university"[1] which comprised all the instruction from the most elementary to the most advanced. A "grand master" was put at its head, and a university council of thirty members drew up regulations for all the schools, prepared the textbooks, and controlled the teachers, high and low, throughout France. The university had its own large endowment, and its instructors were to be suitably prepared in a normal school established for the purpose.

The government could at any time interfere if it disapproved of the teaching; the prefect was to visit the schools in his department and report on their condition to the minister of the interior. The first schoolbook to be drawn up was the *Imperial Catechism*; in this the children were taught to say:

> Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we in particular owe to Napoleon I, our emperor, love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the taxes levied for the preservation and defense of the empire and of his throne. We also owe him fervent prayers for his safety and for the spiritual and temporal prosperity of the State.

Napoleon not only created a new nobility, but he endeavored to assure the support of distinguished individuals by making them members of the Legion of Honor, which he founded. The "princes" whom he nominated received an annual income of two hundred thousand francs. The ministers of state, the senators, the members of his Council of State, and the archbishops received the title of "Count" and a revenue of thirty thousand francs; and so on. The army was not forgotten, for Napoleon felt that to be his chief support. The incomes of his marshals were enormous, and brave actions among the soldiers were rewarded with the decoration of the Legion of Honor.

[1] Only the theological seminaries and the polytechnic schools were excluded from the university. Napoleon's plan resembled the Board of Regents which constitutes the University of the State of New York.

Napoleon was, however, never content with his achievements or his glory. On the day of his coronation he complained to his minister, Decrès, that he had been born too late; that there was nothing great to be done any more. On his minister's remonstrating, he added:

> I admit that my career has been brilliant and that I have made a good record. But what a difference is there if we compare ours with ancient times. Take Alexander the Great, for example. When he announced himself the son of Jupiter, the whole East, except his mother, Aristotle, and a few Athenian pedants, believed this to be true. But now, should I nowadays declare myself the son of the Eternal Father, there isn't a fishwife who wouldn't hiss me. No, the nations are too sophisticated, nothing great is any longer possible.

As time went on Napoleon's despotism grew more and more oppressive. No less than thirty-five hundred prisoners of state were arrested at his command, one because he hated Napoleon, another because in his letters he expressed sentiments adverse to the government. No grievance was too petty to attract the attention of the emperor's jealous eye. He ordered the title of *A History of Bonaparte* to be changed to *The History of the Campaigns of Napoleon the Great*. He forbade the performance of certain of Schiller's and Goethe's plays in German towns as tending to arouse the patriotic discontent of the people with his rule.

Napoleon intervenes in Spain

Up to this time Napoleon had had only the opposition of the several European courts to overcome in the extension of his power. The people of the various states which he had conquered showed an extraordinary indifference toward the political changes. It was clear, however, that as soon as the national spirit was once awakened, the highly artificial system created by the French emperor would collapse. His first serious reverse came from the people, and from an unexpected quarter.

After concluding the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon turned his attention to the Spanish peninsula. He was on friendly terms with the court of Spain, but little Portugal continued to admit English ships to her harbors. In October he ordered the Portuguese government to declare war on Great Britain and to confiscate all English property. Upon its refusal to obey the second part of the order, he commanded General Junot to invade Portugal and take charge of the government. Thereupon the royal family resolved to take refuge in their vast Brazilian empire, and when Junot reached Lisbon they were receiving the salutes of the English squadron as they moved down the Tagus on the way to their new home across the Atlantic. Easy and simple as was the subsequent occupation of Portugal, it proved one of Napoleon's serious mistakes.

Owing to quarrels and dissensions in the Spanish royal family, Spain also seemed to Napoleon an easy prey, and he determined to add it to his subject kingdoms. In the spring of 1808 he induced both Charles IV of Spain and the crown prince Ferdinand to meet him at Bayonne. Here he was able to persuade or force both of them to surrender their rights to the throne,[1] and on June 6 he appointed his brother Joseph king of Spain. Murat, one of Napoleon's ablest generals, who had married his sister, succeeded Joseph on the throne of Naples.

Joseph entered Madrid in July, 1808, armed with excellent intentions and a new constitution. The general rebellion in favor of the crown prince Ferdinand, which immediately broke out, had an element of religious enthusiasm in it; for the monks stirred up the people against Napoleon, on the ground that he

[1] Charles IV resigned all his rights to the crown of Spain and the Indies "to the Emperor of the French as the only person who, in the existing state of affairs, can reëstablish order." He and his disreputable queen retired to Rome, while Napoleon kept Ferdinand under guard in Talleyrand's country estate. Here this despicable prince lived for six years, occasionally writing a cringing letter to Napoleon. In 1814 he was restored to the Spanish throne as Ferdinand VII, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, showed himself the consistent enemy of reform.

was an enemy of the Pope and an oppressor of the Church. One French army was captured at Bailén, and another capitulated to the British forces which had landed in Portugal. Before the end of July Joseph and the French troops had been compelled to retreat behind the river Ebro.

In November, 1808, the French emperor himself led into Spain a magnificent army, two hundred thousand strong, in the best of condition and commanded by his ablest marshals. The Spanish troops, perhaps one hundred thousand in number, were ill clad and inadequately equipped; what was worse, they were overconfident in view of their late victory. They were, of course, defeated, and Madrid surrendered on December 4. Napoleon thereupon issued a proclamation to the Spanish people in which he said:

> It depends upon you alone whether this moderate constitution that I offer you shall henceforth be your law. Should all my efforts prove vain, and should you refuse to justify my confidence, then nothing will remain for me but to treat you as a conquered province and find a new throne for my brother. In that case I shall myself assume the crown of Spain and teach the ill-disposed to respect that crown, for God has given me the power and the will to overcome all obstacles.

Decrees were immediately issued in which Napoleon abolished all vestiges of the feudal system, and declared that everyone who conformed to the laws should be free to carry on any industry that he pleased. The tribunal of the Inquisition, for which Spain had been noted for hundreds of years, was abolished and its property seized. The monasteries and convents were to be reduced to one third their number, and no one, for the time being, was to be permitted to take any monastic vows. The customs lines which separated the Spanish provinces and hampered trade were obliterated, and the customhouses were transferred to the frontiers of the kingdom. These measures illustrate the way in which Napoleon

spread the principles of the French Revolution by arms in those states which, in spite of their Benevolent Despots, still clung to their half-medieval institutions.

The next month Napoleon was back in Paris, as he saw that he had another war with Austria on his hands. He left Joseph on a very insecure throne, and, in spite of the arrogant confidence of his proclamation to the Spaniards, he was soon to discover that they could maintain a guerrilla warfare against which his best troops and most distinguished generals were powerless. His ultimate downfall was in no small measure due to the persistent hostility of the Spanish people.

Greatest Expansion of Napoleon's Empire

Austria was fearful, since Napoleon had gained Russia's friendship, that should he succeed in putting down the stubborn resistance of the Spaniards he might be tempted still further to increase his empire at her expense. She had been reorganizing and increasing her army, and decided that it was best to strike while some two hundred thousand of Napoleon's troops were busy in Spain. So the Austrian emperor's brother, the archduke Charles, led his forces westward in April, 1809, and issued an appeal to the German nation in which he urged them to imitate the heroic Spaniards and rise against their oppressors. Although there was an ever-growing party in Prussia and southern Germany which longed to throw off Napoleon's yoke, the king of Prussia refused to join Austria unless Russia would lend her aid. The monarchs who composed the Confederation of the Rhine also clung to their "Protector," so Austria was left to meet "the enemy of Europe" single-handed.

After defeating the archduke Charles in Bavaria, Napoleon marched on to Vienna, but he did not succeed in crushing the Austrian forces as easily and promptly as he had done at Austerlitz in 1805. Indeed, he was actually defeated at the battle of Aspern (May 21–22, 1809), but he finally gained a rather

EUROPE
AT THE
TIME OF NAPOLEON'S
GREATEST POWER
ABOUT 1810
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
Empire of France
Dependencies
Longitude West from Greenwich
ATLANTIC OCEAN
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Liverpool
Manchester
Dublin
Limerick
Cork
Oxford
London
Bristol
Plymouth
Dover
The Hague
Boulogne
Waterloo
Brest
Versailles
Fontainebleau
Paris
EMPIRE OF FRANCE
Loire R.
Orleans
Langres
Nantes
Rochefort
Lyon
Bordeaux
Rhone R.
Avignon
Toulouse
Bayonne
Coruña
Galicia
Burgos
Oporto
Valladolid
Ebro
Salamanca
Saragossa
KINGDOM OF PORTUGAL
Ciudad Rodrigo
Talavera
Madrid
Torres Vedras
Lisbon
Tagus
Portosa
Barcelona
Valencia
BALEARIC IS
Córdoba
Baylen
Alicante
Seville
Granada
Cadiz
C. Trafalgar
Cartagena
Gibraltar (English)
Ceuta
Algiers
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AFRICA

KINGDOM OF SWEDEN
Copenhagen
Riga
Moscow
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Borodino
EMPIRE OF RUSSIA
Kovno
Vilna
Tilsit
Friedland
Rep. of Danzig
Swedish Pomerania
KM. OF PRUSSIA
Stettin
Thorn
Elbe
Berlin
GR. DUCHY OF WARSAW
Posen
Warsaw
Pobubin
Kiev
Poltava
Dresden
Breslau
Cracow
Galicia
Prague
Bohemia
Austerlitz
Brunn
Ratisbon
Wagram
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Innsbruck
Tyrol
Trent
Trieste
Venice
HUNGARY
Jassy
Moldavia
Temesvar
Wallachia
Bucharest
Silistria
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
Danube R.
Varna
ILLYRIAN PROVINCES
ADRIATIC SEA
Sofia
Ragusa
Cattaro
Adrianople
Constantinople
Skutari
Rome
KM. OF NAPLES
Naples
Brindisi
Salonika
Otranto
Corfu
Vannina
Smyrna
Cosenza
Palermo
KINGDOM OF SICILY
Messina
Syracuse
IONIAN ISLANDS
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS

doubtful victory in the fearful battle of Wagram, near Vienna (July 5–6). Austria was disheartened and again consented to conclude a peace quite as humiliating as that of Pressburg.

She had announced that her object in going to war once more was the destruction of Napoleon's system of dependent states and had proposed "to restore to their rightful possessors all those lands belonging to them respectively before the Napoleonic usurpation." The battle of Wagram put an end to these dreams, and the emperor of Austria was forced to surrender to the victor and his friends extensive territories, together with four million Austrian subjects. A strip of land, including Salzburg, was given to the king of Bavaria; on the north, Galicia (which Austria had received in the first partition of Poland) was ceded to Napoleon's ally, the grand duke of Warsaw; and finally, along the Adriatic, Napoleon exacted a district which he added to his own empire under the name of the Illyrian Provinces. This last cession served to cut Austria entirely off from the sea.

The new Austrian minister, Metternich, was anxious to establish a permanent alliance with the seemingly invincible Emperor of the French and did all he could to heal the breach between Austria and France by a royal marriage. Napoleon ardently desired an heir to whom he could transmit his vast dominions. As Josephine had borne him no children, he decided to divorce her; and after considering and rejecting a Russian princess, he married (April, 1810) the archduchess Maria Louisa, the daughter of the Austrian emperor and a grandniece of Marie Antoinette. In this way the former Corsican adventurer gained admission to one of the oldest and proudest of reigning families, the Hapsburgs. His second wife soon bore him a son, who was styled "King of Rome."

While Napoleon was in the midst of the war with Austria he had issued a proclamation "reuniting" the Papal States to the French Empire. He argued that it was Charlemagne, "Emperor of the French," his august predecessor, who had given the lands

to the Popes; and that now, since the tranquillity and welfare of his people required that the territory be reunited to France, it was his obvious duty to deprive the Pope of his dominions.

Holland, it will be remembered, had been formed into a kingdom under the rule of Napoleon's brother Louis. The brothers had never agreed;[1] and in 1810 Holland was annexed to France, as was also the German territory to the north, including the great ports of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck.

Napoleon had now reached the zenith of his power. All western Europe, except Great Britain, was apparently under his control. France itself reached from the Baltic nearly to the Bay of Naples and included a considerable district beyond the Adriatic. The Emperor of the French was also king of Italy and "Protector" of the Confederation of the Rhine, which now included all the German states except Austria and the remains of the kingdom of Prussia. Napoleon's brother Joseph was king of Spain, and his brother-in-law, Murat, was king of Naples. Poland once more appeared on the map as the grand duchy of Warsaw, a faithful ally of its "restorer." The possessions of the emperor of Austria had so shrunk on the west that Hungary was now by far the most important part of Francis I's realms,[2] but he had the satisfaction of beholding in his grandson, the king of Rome, the heir to unprecedented power.

The Russian Disaster (1812)

But all Napoleon's military genius, his statesmanship, his tireless vigilance, and his absolute unscrupulousness could not invent means by which an empire such as he had built up could be held together permanently. Even if he could, by force or persuasion, have induced the monarchs to remain his

[1] Louis Bonaparte, the father of Napoleon III and the most conscientious of the Bonaparte family, had been so harassed by Napoleon that he had abdicated.

[2] Emperor Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire had become Francis I, emperor of Austria.

vassals, he could not cope with the growing spirit of nationality among their subjects which made subordination to a French ruler seem a more and more shameful thing to Spaniards, Germans, and Italians alike. Moreover, there were two governments that he had not succeeded in conquering: Great Britain and Russia.

The British, far from begging for peace on account of the Continental blockade, had annihilated the French sea power and now began to attack Napoleon on land. Sir Arthur Wellesley (a commander who had made a réputation in India, and who is better known by his later title of "the Duke of Wellington") had landed British troops in Portugal (August, 1808) and forced Junot and the French army to evacuate the country. While Napoleon was busy about Vienna in 1809, Wellesley had invaded Spain and gained a victory over the French there. He then retired again to Portugal, where he spent the winter constructing a system of fortifications—the lines of Torres Vedras—on a rocky promontory near Lisbon. From here he could carry on his operations against the French with security and success. He and his Spanish allies continued to occupy the attention of about two hundred thousand of Napoleon's troops and some of his very best generals. So Napoleon never really conquered Spain, which proved a constant drain on his resources and a source of humiliation to him and of exultation and encouragement to his enemies.

Among the Continental states Russia was entirely out of Napoleon's control. Up to this time the agreement of Tilsit, of 1807, had been maintained. There were, however, plenty of causes for misunderstanding between the ardent young Tsar, Alexander I, and Napoleon. Napoleon was secretly opposing, instead of aiding, Alexander's plans for adding the Danubian provinces to his possessions. Then the possibility of Napoleon's reëstablishing Poland as a national kingdom, which might threaten Russia's interests, was a constant source of apprehension to Alexander.

The chief difficulty lay, however, in Russia's reluctance to enforce the Continental blockade. The Tsar was willing, in accordance with the Treaty of Tilsit, to continue to close his harbors to British ships, but he refused to accede to Napoleon's demand that he shut out vessels sailing under a neutral flag. Russia had to dispose of her own products in some way and to obtain English manufactures, as well as coffee, sugar, spices, and other tropical and semitropical products which she had no hope of producing herself. Her comfort and prosperity therefore depended upon the neutral vessels which visited her Baltic ports.

Napoleon viewed the open Russian ports as a fatal flaw in his Continental system and began to make preparations for an attack upon his doubtful friend, who was already beginning to look like an enemy. In 1812 he believed that he was ready to subdue even distant Russia. His more farsighted counselors vainly attempted to dissuade him by pointing out the fearful risks that he was taking. Deaf to their warnings, he collected on the Russian frontier a vast army of half a million men, composed to a great extent of young French recruits and the contingents furnished by his allies.

The story of the fearful Russian campaign which followed cannot be told here in detail. Napoleon had planned to take three years to conquer Russia, but he was forced on by the necessity of gaining at least one signal victory before he closed the first season's campaign. The Russians simply retreated and led him far within a hostile and devastated country before they offered battle at Borodino (September 7). Napoleon won the battle, but his army was reduced to something over one hundred thousand men when he entered Moscow a week later. The town had been set on fire by the Russians before his arrival; he found his position untenable, and had to retreat as winter came on. The cold, the lack of food, and the harassing attacks of the people along the route made that retreat one of the most terrible military tragedies on record. Napoleon

regained Poland early in December, accompanied by scarcely twenty thousand men of the five hundred thousand with whom he had opened the campaign less than six months before.[1]

He hastened back to Paris, where he freely misrepresented the true state of affairs, even declaring that the army was in good condition up to the time when he had turned it over to Murat in December. While the loss of men in the Russian campaign was enormous, just those few had naturally survived who would be most essential in the formation of a new army; namely, the officers. With their help Napoleon soon had a force of no less than six hundred thousand men with which to return to the attack. This contained one hundred and fifty thousand conscripts who should not have been called into service until 1814, besides older men who had been hitherto exempted.

Revival of Prussia

The first of his allies to desert Napoleon was Prussia, and no wonder. She felt his tyranny as no other country had. He had not only taken her lands but he had cajoled and insulted her; he had forced her to send her ablest minister, Stein, into exile because he had aroused the French emperor's dislike; he had opposed every measure of reform which might have served to strengthen the diminished kingdom which he had left to Frederick William III.

Prussia, notwithstanding the reforms of Frederick the Great, had retained its half-feudal institutions down to the decisive defeat of Jena in 1806.

The first step toward Prussia's regeneration was the royal decree of October 9, 1807, intended to "remove every obstacle that has hitherto prevented the individual from attaining such a degree of prosperity as he is capable of reaching." Serfdom

[1] This does not mean that all but twenty thousand had been killed. Some of the contingents (that of Prussia, for example) did not take an active part in the war.

was abolished and the restrictions on landholding removed, so that anyone, regardless of class, was at liberty to purchase and hold landed property of every kind.

Every thoughtful Prussian had been deeply shocked by the cowardly way in which the enemy had been permitted to occupy the whole country after a single defeat. Men like William von Humboldt and the philosopher Fichte forwarded a moral and educational reform. The University of Berlin, today one of the foremost institutions of learning in the world, was founded, and four hundred and fifty-eight students matriculated during the first year (1810–1811). The *Gymnasien*, or high schools, were also greatly improved. A League of Virtue (*Tugendbund*), which was formed for the encouragement of morality and public spirit, did much to foster the growing love for the fatherland and the ever-increasing hatred of French domination.

Fichte delivered a course of lectures in Berlin, *Addresses to the German People*. He told his audiences that the Germans were the one really superior race in the whole world. All other nations, he held, were declining and had seen their best days. Therefore the future belonged to the Germans, who would in due time, owing to their supreme natural gifts, come into their own and be recognized as world leaders. The German language, moreover, was infinitely stronger than the feeble speeches, like French and Italian, derived from the decadent Latin. He did what he could, in the name of patriotism, to cultivate the self-esteem of his countrymen and their contempt for all other peoples. His listeners heard him gladly, and his addresses became a sort of German classic, to be read in periods of national disappointment.

The old army of Frederick the Great had been completely discredited; and a few days after the signature of the Treaty of Tilsit a commission for military reorganization was appointed, with a military genius, Scharnhorst, at its head. The main aim of Scharnhorst was to give every man a share in the

work of defending his country. Napoleon permitted Prussia to maintain an army of no more than forty-two thousand men, but Scharnhorst arranged that this should constantly be recruited by new men, and that those who had had some training in the ranks should retire and form a reserve. In this way, in spite of the small size of the regular army, there were as many as one hundred and fifty thousand men ready to fight when the opportunity should come. (This subterfuge of Scharnhorst proved to be of the utmost consequence in world history, for the system was later adopted by the other European states and formed the basis of all the great armies at the opening of the World War.) Moreover, the custom of permitting only nobles to be officers was abandoned, and foreign mercenaries were no longer to be employed.

The Prussian contingent which Napoleon had ordered to support him in his Russian campaign was under the command of Yorck. It had held back and so was not involved in the destruction of the main army. On learning of Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, Yorck, without waiting for the king's permission, joined the Russians.

This action of Yorck and the influence of public opinion finally induced the faint-hearted king, who was still apprehensive of Napoleon's vengeance, to sign a treaty with the Tsar (February 27, 1813), in which Russia agreed not to lay down arms until Prussia should be restored to a total area equal to that she had possessed before the fatal battle of Jena. It was understood that she should give up to the Tsar all that she had received in the second and third partitions of Poland and should be indemnified by annexations in northern Germany. This proved a very important stipulation. On March 17 Frederick William issued a proclamation "To my People," in which he summoned his subjects—Brandenburgers, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, and Lithuanians—to follow the example of the Spaniards and free their country from the rule of a faithless and insolent tyrant.

The Fall of Napoleon

Napoleon's situation was, however, by no means desperate so long as Italy, Austria, and the Confederation of the Rhine stood by him. With the new army which he had collected after his disastrous campaign in Russia the previous year, he marched to Leipzig, where he found the Russians and the Prussians under Blücher awaiting him. He once more defeated the allies at Lützen (May 2, 1813), and then moved on to Dresden, the capital of his faithful friend, the king of Saxony. During the summer he inflicted several defeats upon the allies, and on August 26–27 he won his last great victory, the battle of Dresden.

Metternich's friendship had grown cold as Napoleon's position became more and more uncertain. He was willing to maintain the alliance between Austria and France if Napoleon would abandon a considerable portion of his conquests since 1806. As Napoleon refused to do this, Austria joined the allies in August. Meanwhile Sweden, which a year or two before had chosen one of Napoleon's marshals, Bernadotte, as its crown prince, also joined the allies and sent an army into northern Germany.

Finding that the allied armies of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Sweden, under excellent generals like Blücher and Bernadotte, had at last learned that it was necessary to coöperate if they hoped to crush their ever-alert enemy, and that they were preparing to cut him off from France, Napoleon retreated early in October to Leipzig. Here the tremendous "Battle of the Nations," as the Germans love to call it, raged for four days. No less than one hundred and twenty thousand men were killed or wounded, and Napoleon was totally defeated (October 16–19).

As the Emperor of the French escaped across the Rhine with the remnants of his army, the whole fabric of his vast political edifice crumbled. The members of the Confederation

of the Rhine renounced their "protector" and joined the allies. Jerome fled from his kingdom of Westphalia, and the Dutch drove the French officials out of Holland. Wellington had been steadily and successfully engaged in aiding the Spanish against their common enemy, and by the end of 1813 Spain was practically cleared of the French intruders so that Wellington could press on across the Pyrenees into France.[1]

In spite of these disasters Napoleon refused the propositions of peace made on condition that he would content himself henceforth with his dominion over France. The allies consequently marched into France, and the almost superhuman activity of the hard-pressed emperor could not prevent their occupation of Paris (March 31, 1814). Napoleon was forced to abdicate; and the allies, in seeming derision, granted him full sovereignty over the tiny island of Elba, off the coast of Tuscany, and permitted him to retain his imperial title. In reality he was a prisoner on his island kingdom, and the Bourbons reigned again in France.

Within a year, encouraged by the dissensions of the allies and the unpopularity of the Bourbons, he made his escape, landed in France (March 1, 1815), and was received with enthusiasm by a portion of the army. Yet France as a whole was indifferent, if not hostile, to his attempt to reëstablish his power. Certainly no one could place confidence in his talk of peace and liberty. Moreover, whatever disagreement there might be among the allies on other matters, there was perfect unanimity in their attitude toward "the enemy and destroyer

[1] The United States, exasperated by England's interference with her commerce and her impressment of American seamen, declared war against Great Britain in June, 1812. This exercised no appreciable effect upon the course of affairs in Europe. The Americans succeeded in capturing a surprising number of English ships and prevented the enemy from invading New England or taking New Orleans. On the other hand, the English succeeded in defending the Canadian boundary and took and destroyed Washington (August, 1814) just before the opening of the Congress of Vienna. Peace was concluded at Ghent before the end of the year, after about a year and a half of hostilities, and thus brought the War of 1812 to a close.

of the world's peace." They solemnly proclaimed him an outlaw and devoted him to public vengeance.

Upon learning that British troops under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher had arrived in the Netherlands, Napoleon decided to attack them with such troops as he could collect. In the first engagements he defeated and drove back the Prussians. Wellington then took his station south of Brussels, at Waterloo. Napoleon advanced against him (June 18, 1815) and might have defeated the British had they not been opportunely reënforced by Blücher's Prussians, who had recovered themselves. As it was, Napoleon lost one of the most memorable of modern battles. Yet even if he had not been defeated at Waterloo, he could not long have opposed the vast armies which were being concentrated to overthrow him.

The fugitive emperor hastened to the coast, but found it so carefully guarded by British ships that he decided to throw himself upon the generosity of the English nation. The British government treated him, however, as a dangerous prisoner of war rather than as a retired foreign general and statesman of distinction who desired, as he claimed, to finish his days in peaceful seclusion. He was banished with a few companions and guards to the remote island of Saint Helena. Here he spent the six years until his death on May 5, 1821, brooding over his past glories and dictating his memoirs, in which he strove to justify his career and explain his motives.

For the general history of Europe the captivity at St. Helena possesses a double interest. Not only did it invest the career of the fallen hero with an atmosphere of martyrdom and pathos, which gave it a new and distinct appeal, but it enabled him to arrange a pose before the mirror of history, to soften away all that had been ungracious and hard and violent, and to draw in firm and authoritative outline a picture of his splendid achievements and liberal designs. . . . The great captain, hero of adventures wondrous as the *Arabian Nights*, passes over the mysterious ocean to his lonely island and emerges transfigured as in some ennobling mirage.—H. A. L. FISHER

CHAPTER XXXI

EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The Settlement at Vienna (1814–1815)

With the passing of the spectacular figure of Napoleon from the European stage, and the collapse of the vast French empire which he had so skillfully built up with the realms of his neighbors, we enter a new phase of European history. We shall see that during the hundred years which separates the Napoleonic upheaval from the great disaster of our own generation, the map of Europe suffered many changes. In the nineteenth century the modern national states, great and small, developed strong sentiments of unity and self-importance. It was this nationalistic rivalry that finally precipitated the great war of 1914, a catastrophe which, however, affected not only Europe but nearly every part of the globe. In order to discover how the conflicting ambitions of European states came to involve so large a portion of humanity we shall continue to take note of the way in which European nations kept reaching out with their colonies, their trade, and their business enterprise and so furthered the *Europeanizing* of a large part of the earth.

This extension of European civilization and control throughout the world is one of the most striking phenomena of the nineteenth century. It was made possible by a series of astonishing inventions which substituted machinery for hand labor in manufacture, thereby multiplying indefinitely the possibility of the world's output of goods. The steam engine and the steamboat revolutionized the means of transporting men, food, and goods back and forth across land and sea and opened up ready access to far-distant countries. Later the telegraph,

the telephone, and the radio established almost instantaneous communication between all parts of the earth. During the brief period which has elapsed since Napoleon's time the momentous changes that have taken place in the conditions of living, in business and commerce and science, have produced a world situation in which all the nations are as intimately involved in one another's affairs as the European powers were in 1815.

In such a changing world the peoples came gradually to change their ideas too. The suspicions aroused in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries about kings and diplomats and the special privileges enjoyed for so long by a small group only began to spread rapidly.[1] Ever-larger numbers began to see that they too might play some part in affairs, and so they questioned their relation to the government, to their own work, and to their chance of betterment in life. So it came about that the arrangements made by the old-fashioned statesmen in 1815 to insure permanent peace by reëstablishing the old order proved but a temporary settlement, and the very tendencies which they took such careful measures to circumvent began, almost immediately, to show their strength.

Immediately after Napoleon's abdication the allies reinstated the Bourbon dynasty on the throne of France in the person of the elder of Louis XVI's brothers, the count of Provence, who became Louis XVIII.[2] They first restricted France to the boundaries that she had had at the beginning of 1792, but later deprived her of Savoy as a punishment for yielding to the domination of Napoleon after his return from Elba. A great congress of the European powers was summoned to meet at Vienna, where the allies proposed to settle all the difficult problems that faced them. They had no idea of reëstablishing things just as they were before the Napoleonic period, for

[1] See Chapters XXIV and XXV, above.

[2] The son of Louis XVI had been imprisoned and maltreated by the terrorists. He died while still a boy in 1795, but nevertheless takes his place in the line of French kings as Louis XVII.

the simple reason that Austria, Russia, and Prussia all had schemes for their own advantage that precluded so simple an arrangement.

The Congress of Vienna began its sessions on November 1, 1814. The allies quickly agreed that Holland should become a hereditary kingdom under the House of Orange, which had long played so conspicuous a rôle in the nominal republic. In order that Holland might be the better able to check any new encroachments on the part of France, the former Austrian Netherlands were given to her. Switzerland was declared independent, as were all the small Italian states which had existed prior to the innovations of Napoleon, except the ancient republics of Venice and Genoa, neither of which was restored. Genoa was given to the king of Sardinia; Venetia to Austria, as an indemnity for her losses in the Netherlands. Austria also received back her former territory of Milan and, by reason of her control of northern Italy, continued to be a powerful factor in determining the fate of the whole Italian peninsula. As to Germany, no one desired to undo the great work of 1803 and restore the old anarchy. The former members of the Rhine Confederation were bent upon maintaining the "sovereignty" which Napoleon had secured for them; consequently the allies determined that the several states of Germany should be independent, but "united in a federal union."

So far all was tolerably harmonious. Nevertheless, serious differences of opinion developed at the congress which nearly brought on war among the allies themselves and encouraged Napoleon's return from Elba. These concerned the disposition of the Polish territory that Napoleon had converted into the grand duchy of Warsaw. The Tsar was bent on restoring the kingdom of Poland as a separate state over which he was to rule as king, thus uniting Poland in a "personal union" with Russia. The king of Prussia was reluctantly persuaded to support the Tsar in this scheme on condition that Prussia should be indemnified for her losses in the East by annexing the lands

of the king of Saxony. The Saxon king, it was argued, merited this retribution for remaining faithful to Napoleon after the other members of the Confederation of the Rhine had repudiated him. Austria and Great Britain, on the other hand, were bitterly opposed to this arrangement. They did not favor dispossessing the king of Saxony, and they were hotly against seeing Russian influence extended westward by giving Poland to the Tsar.

The great diplomatist Talleyrand, who represented Louis XVIII at the congress, now saw his chance. The allies had resolved to treat France as a black sheep and to permit the other four great powers to arrange matters to suit themselves. But they were now hopelessly at odds. Talleyrand dexterously took advantage of this dissension to restore France to a place of importance. He offered to support Austria with arms, if necessary, against the schemes of the Tsar. In this way France became aligned with Austria and Great Britain against Russia and Prussia, and the disturber of the peace of Europe for the previous quarter of a century was received back into the family of nations.

A compromise was finally reached, however. The Tsar was allowed to create a kingdom of Poland out of the grand duchy of Warsaw, but only half of the possessions of the king of Saxony were ceded to Prussia. As a further indemnity Frederick William III was given certain districts on the left bank of the Rhine which had belonged to ecclesiastical and petty lay princes before the Treaty of Lunéville. This seemingly innocent adjustment proved one of the most tremendous in its consequences of all the decisions of the Congress of Vienna. In ratifying it England and France had no suspicion that they were furnishing material for a far more terrible conflict than that from which they were emerging. Before Napoleon's time Prussia held only two or three bits of territory on the Rhine, north of Cologne. As the allies contemplated the feeble Frederick William III, they could hardly have suspected that a

future Prussian king would become the aggressive head of a united Germany and would take advantage of the fact that his boundaries were contiguous to those of Belgium, Luxembourg, and France. Furthermore, if one hundred years later the diplomats at Vienna could have revisited the sleepy little towns of the Ruhr valley which they so negligently handed over to Prussia, they would have seen them transformed into busy centers for the production of the great modern machinery of commerce and war. For in Essen, Barmen, Düsseldorf, and Elberfeld they would have found hundreds of thousands of workers devoting their energy to the creation of Germany's national wealth and military preëminence.

The representatives of the allies at Vienna were not only intent on arranging peace but were determined as well to keep such additional territory as they had gained during the Napoleonic wars. Austria had emerged from the disorder the dominant power in Europe, and for thirty years, under the leadership of her astute statesman Count Metternich, she held the foremost place in European affairs and dictated the policy of the central European powers. The allies, however, restored in the smaller countries the monarchs who had been displaced by Napoleon and whom they regarded as "legitimately" entitled to rule. In Spain, Holland, northern Germany, and Naples the former ruling families were given back their thrones.

Having arranged the map of Europe as they desired, the statesmen of the four great powers determined to provide against any future revolutionary uprising which might undo their work. On the same day that the final treaty was signed embodying the decisions of the Congress of Vienna (November 20, 1815) Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Great Britain entered a secret alliance agreeing to hold meetings from time to time and to take such measures as might seem to them necessary to preserve order in Europe.[1]

[1] This Quadruple Alliance, as it is called, has often been confused with the Holy Alliance, published in September, 1815. This was a pious document, pro-

In attempting to restore the old aristocratic régime, with its inequalities and unfairnesses, Metternich and his associates made use of all the old machinery of intimidation and force. They seemed to have learned but little from the English or the French revolutions, and to have believed that a small group of aristocrats could fasten permanently on the underlying population of Europe a system devised for its enslavement. They did not remember, or would not recognize, that in France at least men had experienced what it was to be free from the old feudal burdens, and that the idea of a constitution which explicitly stated what the king might do and might not do and what the rights of the common people were had fired the imagination of progressive men throughout Europe.

They also failed to appreciate the fundamental and growing tendency of those who speak the same language and feel bound by ties of kinship to unite in a common cause and form a government of their own. For all their shrewd diplomacy in dealing with one another, the statesmen at Vienna showed a singular obtuseness in dealing with the forces hostile to their plans. They built their hopes of tranquillity on secret treaties, alliances, espionage, censorship of speech and writing, imprisonment, and war. Although from 1815 to 1848 they were able to put down all revolutionary uprisings, not long after that the supporters of the system of Metternich found themselves outnumbered by the champions of constitutional government and national unity.

moted by the Tsar, in which the members viewed themselves as "delegates of Providence" ruling over various branches of the same family, and promised to base their policy on "the sublime truths which are taught by the eternal religion of God our Savior." The Tsar and the king of Prussia were the only monarchs who took this alliance seriously. Owing probably to its picturesque title and conception it has borne the responsibility for many of the deeds which were really the acts of the Quadruple Alliance.

EUROPE
After 1815
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200
KINGDOM OF DENMARK
Kiel
Lubeck
Hamburg
Bremen
MECKLENBURG
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Brussels
Louvain
Boulogne
Waterloo
Quatre Bras
Maastricht
Ligny
Bonn
Aix la Chapelle
Rhine
Elbe
Brunswick
HANOVER
Wartburg
Frankfurt
Hanau
Ham
Luxemburg
Sedan
Seine
PARIS
Fontainebleau
Montereau
Troyes
Arcis
Marne R.
Rastadt
Strasbourg
Stuttgart
WURTTEMBERG
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Dijon
Belfort
Basel
Zurich
Lucerne
BERN
SWITZERLAND
Geneva
Lyon
Rhone R.
KINGDOM OF SAVOY
PIEDMONT
Novara
Como
LOMBARDY
Milan
Verona
Cremona
Turin
Grenoble
Alessandria
DUCHY OF PARMA
DUCHY OF MODENA
Ferrara
Bologna
Genoa
SARDINIA
Uzes
Avignon
Nimes
Nice
Marseille
Antibes
Leghorn
DUCHY OF TUSCANY
KINGDOM OF SPAIN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ELBA
Civitavecchia
STATES OF THE CHURCH
0° 4° 8° 12°
52° 48° 44°
4° 8° 12° Longitu

16°
20°
24°
28°
32°
52°
48°
44°
TIC SEA
RUSSIA
Danzig
Thorn
Posen
Warsaw
Vistula R.
R. Niemen
Vilna
LITHUANIA
Byelostok
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
POLAND
VOLHYNIA
Dnieper R.
Breslau
Cracow
Vistula R.
Troppau
GALICIA
R. Bug
PODOLIA
Dniester R.
Pressburg
Komorn
Leitha R.
Raab
Buda Pest
Debreczen
HUNGARY
Nagy Salo
Theiss R.
Vilagos
TRANSYLVANIA
Temesvar
R. Maros
Agram
Drava R.
SLAVONIA
R. Pruth
MOLDAVIA
Jassy
Odessa
Akkerman
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
DOBRUDJA
Kustenji
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
BOSNIA
SERBIA
Vidin
R. Danube
Ruschuk
Nicopolis
Sistova
Plevna
Shumla
Varna
Timova
Shipka Pass
Burgas
OTTOMAN
EMPIRE
BULGARIA
Alexinatz
Morava R.
Novibazar
HERZEGOVINA
DALMATIA
Sofia
Kazanlik
Maritsa R.
Philippopolis
Adrianople
CONSTANTINOPLE
ALBANIA
Scutari
Antivari
Dulcigno
SEA

Problem of Germany after its Reconstitution by Napoleon

One of the most important questions which the Congress of Vienna failed to settle satisfactorily was the problem of the federation of Germany. The formation of a strong union of German peoples as a protection against invasion by a foreign power had been the aspiration of German patriots ever since their disastrous defeat at Jena. The chief effects of the Napoleonic occupation of Germany were three in number:

1. The consolidation of territory that followed the cession of the left bank of the Rhine to France had, as has been explained, done away with the anomalous ecclesiastical states, the territories of knights, and most of the free towns. Only thirty-eight German states, including four towns, were left when the Congress of Vienna took up the question of finding something to replace the defunct Holy Roman Empire.

2. The external and internal conditions of Prussia had been so changed as to open the way for it eventually to supplant Austria as the controlling power in Germany. A great part of the Slavic possessions gained in the last two partitions of Poland had been lost; but as an indemnity Prussia had received half the kingdom of Saxony, in the very center of Germany, and also the Rhine provinces, which later proved to be so important. Prussia, moreover, was comparatively free from the presence of non-German races, and in this respect offered a marked contrast to the heterogeneous population of its great rival Austria.

The internal changes were no less remarkable. The reforms carried out after Jena by the distinguished minister Stein and his successor, Hardenberg, had done for Prussia somewhat the same that the first National Assembly had done for France. The abolition of serfdom, which in reality required several decades to carry out, and the removal of the feudal restrictions

on the buying and selling of land made the economic development of the country possible. The reorganization of the whole military system prepared the way for Prussia's great victories in 1866 and 1870, which led to the formation of a new German empire under her headship.

3. The agitations of the Napoleonic period had aroused the national spirit. The appeal to the people to aid in the freeing of their country from foreign oppression, and the idea of their participation in a government based upon a written constitution, had produced widespread discontent with the old absolute monarchy and a growing demand that the rulers should grant constitutions to their subjects.

When the form of union for the German states came up for discussion at the Congress of Vienna, two different plans were advocated. Prussia's representatives submitted a scheme for a firm union like that of the United States, in which the central government should control the individual states in all matters of general interest. This idea was opposed by Austria, who was supported by the other German rulers. Austria realized that her possessions, as a whole, could never be included in any real German union, for even in the western portion of her territory there were many Slavs, whereas in Hungary and the southern provinces there were practically no Germans at all. She hoped, however, that she might be the leader in a very loose union in which all the members should be left practically independent. Her proposal of an international union of sovereign princes under her own headship was almost completely realized in the constitution which was adopted.

The confederation was not a union of the various *countries* involved, but of "The Sovereign Princes and Free Towns of Germany," including the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia for such of their possessions as were formerly included in the Holy Roman Empire; the king of Denmark for Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxemburg. The union thus included two sovereigns who

were out-and-out foreigners, and did not include all the possessions of its two most important members.[1]

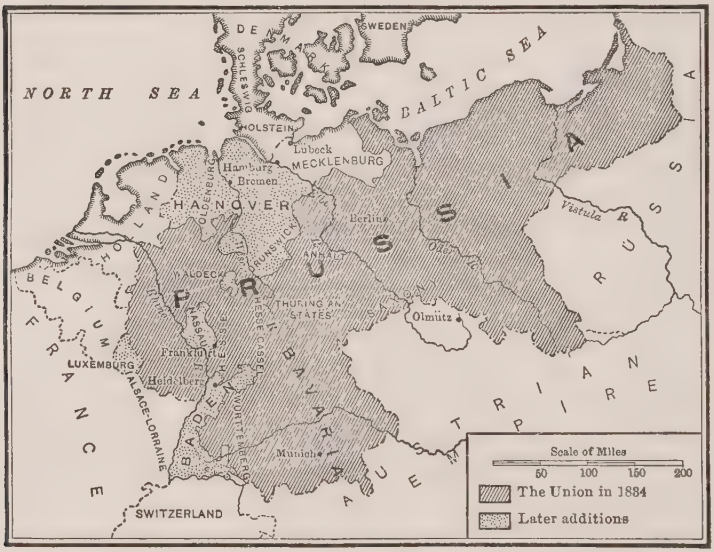
The diet, which held its meetings at Frankfurt, was composed (as was perfectly logical) not of representatives of the people, but of plenipotentiaries of the rulers who were members of the confederation. The several states reserved to themselves the right of forming alliances of all kinds, but pledged themselves to make no agreement prejudicial to the safety of the union or of any of its members, or to make war upon any member of the confederation upon any pretense whatsoever. The constitution could not be amended without the approval of *all* the states of the union. In spite of its obvious weaknesses the confederation of 1815 lasted for half a century, until Prussia finally expelled Austria from the union by arms and incorporated the rest of Germany in the German Empire.

The liberal and progressive party in Germany was sadly disappointed by the failure of the Congress of Vienna to weld Germany into a really national state. They were troubled, too, by the delay of the king of Prussia in granting the constitution that he had promised to his subjects. But Frederick William III was a timid monarch and had lived through such a period of revolutionary disorder that he was easily influenced by Metternich, who was devoting his energy to the suppression of every tendency toward democratic reform. Therefore, when German students began to form political societies and to join with other liberals in violent protests against a reactionary government, Metternich seized the opportunity to point out the terrible results which followed the freedom of speech and writing. He called a meeting at Karlsbad in 1819 of the representatives of the larger German states and persuaded the diet to adopt drastic resolutions providing that the teaching of the professors in the universities should be supervised and those who taught dangerous doctrines dismissed. The general Stu-

[1] Observe the boundary of the German Confederation as indicated on the map, p. 322.

dents' Union, which was regarded as too revolutionary, was to be suppressed. Moreover, no newspaper, magazine, or pamphlet was to go to press without the previous approval of government officials, who were to determine whether it contained anything tending to foster discontent with the government.

This attack upon the freedom of the press, and especially the interference with the liberty of teaching in the great



THE ZOLLVEREIN

institutions of learning, which were already becoming the home of the highest scholarship, scandalized all the progressive spirits in Germany. Yet no successful protest was raised, and Germany as a whole acquiesced for a generation in Metternich's system of discouraging reform of all kinds.

Nevertheless, important progress was made in southern Germany. As early as 1818 the king of Bavaria granted his people a constitution in which he stated their rights and admitted them to a share in the government by establishing a parliament.

His example was followed within two years by the rulers of Baden, Württemberg, and Hesse. These smaller German states had come to resent the interference of Austria in German affairs and were less afraid now that their "sovereign" rights would suffer from constitutional reform than from the dictation of Austria and Prussia.

Another change for the better was the gradual formation of a customs union, *Zollverein*, which permitted goods to be sent freely from one German state to another without the payment of duties at each boundary line. This yielded some of the advantages of a political union. This economic union, of which Prussia was the head and from which Austria was excluded, created a sense of business unity among its members and was a harbinger of the future German Empire.

Spain and the Revolt of her Colonies

Napoleon had been as thoroughly despotic in his government as any of the monarchs who regained their thrones after his downfall, but he was a son of the Revolution and had no sympathy with the ancient abuses that it had done away with. In spite of his despotism the people of the countries that had come under his influence had learned the great lessons of the French Revolution. Nevertheless the restored monarchs in many of the smaller European states proceeded to reëstablish the ancient feudal customs and to treat their subjects as if there had been no French Revolution and no such man as Napoleon. In Hesse-Cassel, which had formed a part of the kingdom of Westphalia, all the reforms introduced by Napoleon and his brother were abolished. The privileges of the nobility and also the feudal burdens of the peasantry were restored. The soldiers were even required to assume the discarded pigtails and powdered wigs of the eighteenth century. In Sardinia and Naples the returning monarchs pursued the same policy of reaction.

In Spain the reaction following the restoration of Ferdinand VII was especially striking. The constitution which enlightened liberals had succeeded in getting adopted in 1812 was annulled, all the decrees of the Cortes were declared void, and an absolute monarchy was reëstablished. The renewed power of the nobles and clergy was immediately evident in the revival of the old feudal privileges, the exemption of the clergy from taxation, and the restoration of the monasteries. At the urgent request of the clergy the Inquisition was reëstablished. The great mass of the peasants were under the influence of the clergy and saw in the return of the king only freedom from foreign rule and the triumph of the mother Church. They understood nothing of the character of the government, but had a slavish reverence for authority. On the other hand, the educated townspeople and liberals found themselves in a desperate plight. The leaders of the Cortes were imprisoned and, by an arbitrary decree of the king, sentenced to long terms of confinement, although they had been proved innocent of the charge of treason. The country was filled with brigands who preyed on the people. The mismanagement of the king's favorites had reduced the State to bankruptcy. Commerce and agriculture had fallen to ruin. Freedom of speech was denied, and books and newspapers were censored. Many liberals were seized and put in prison and in some cases executed. As time went on, affairs grew worse rather than better.

More important, however, than the discontent at home was the revolt of the Spanish colonies in South America from the mother country. Spain had always treated her colonies harshly, monopolized their trade, and used them chiefly as a source of profit to her own grandees and merchants. As early as 1810 Mexico, New Granada (now Colombia), Venezuela, Peru, Argentina, and Chile, while they still professed to be loyal to the Spanish monarch, took their government into their own hands and drove out the Spanish officials. At first these revolts were put down with great cruelty; but in 1817, under the leadership

of Bolivar, Venezuela won its entire independence. During the following five years the Spaniards also lost New Granada, Peru, Ecuador, Chile, Mexico, and lastly (1825) Upper Peru, which was named Bolivia after its liberator.

The revolt against Ferdinand's unyielding despotism that was growing throughout Spain finally spread to the army. Many of the soldiers had not received their pay for years, and sometimes even food was lacking. Moreover, thousands were sent to death in putting down the revolt in the South American colonies. At last in January, 1820, the army waiting at Cádiz to be dispatched overseas revolted. The revolution soon spread to Madrid, where a mob surrounded the palace and forced the king to take an oath to restore the constitution of 1812. Ferdinand called upon the great powers for aid, and in 1822 the members of the Quadruple Alliance met at Verona to consider what should be done. Great Britain, the only one of the powers with a fleet large enough to be of assistance, refused to aid Ferdinand in trying to regain the South American colonies. But Louis XVIII was induced to send an army across the Pyrenees. The French easily defeated the revolutionists and put Ferdinand in a position to take vengeance on his enemies. The French government soon sickened of its part in the proceeding when it saw the bloodthirsty manner in which Ferdinand dealt with his foes.

The Spanish were so occupied with their difficulties at home that they had neither money nor ships to subdue the colonies. However, the threats of Metternich and his friends to help Spain force the colonies into submission led President Monroe to call the attention of Congress in his message, December, 1823, to the danger of European interference and to state clearly what has since become famous as the Monroe Doctrine; namely, that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the European powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States and as an unfriendly act.

Italy "a Geographical Expression"

Italy was at this time what Metternich called merely "a geographical expression"; it had no political unity whatever. Lombardy and Venetia, in the northern part, were in the hands of Austria; and Parma, Modena, and Tuscany belonged to members of the Austrian family. In the south the considerable kingdom of the Two Sicilies was ruled over by a branch of the Spanish Bourbons. In the center, cutting the peninsula in twain, were the ancient Papal States, which extended north to the Po. The presence of Austria, and the apparent impossibility of inducing the Pope to submit to any government but his own, seemed to preclude all hope of making Italy into a true nation. Yet fifty years later the kingdom of Italy, as it now appears on the map of Europe, came into existence through the final expulsion of Austria from the peninsula and the extinction of the political power of the Pope.

Although Napoleon had governed Italy despotically, he had introduced a great many important reforms. He had established political equality and an orderly administration and had forwarded public improvements; the vestiges of the feudal régime had vanished at his approach. Moreover, he had held out the hope of a united Italy from which the foreign powers who had plagued and distracted her for centuries should be banished. But his unscrupulous use of Italy to advance his personal ambitions disappointed those who at first had placed their hopes in him, and they came to desire his downfall as eagerly as did the nobility and the dispossessed clergy, whose hopes were centered in Austria. It became clear to the more thoughtful Italians that Italy must look to herself and her own resources if she were ever to become an independent European state.

The overthrow of Napoleon left Italy seemingly in a worse state than that in which he had found it. The hold of Austria was strengthened by her acquisition of Venice. The petty

despots of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, reseated on their thrones by the Congress of Vienna, hastened to sweep away the reforms of the Corsican and to reëstablish all the abuses of the old régime, now doubly conspicuous and obnoxious by reason of their temporary abolition. The lesser Italian princes, moreover, showed themselves to be heartily in sympathy with the hated Austria. Active discontent spread throughout the peninsula and led to the formation of numerous secret societies, which assumed strange names, practiced mysterious rites, and plotted darkly in the name of Italian liberty and independence. By far the most noted of these associations was that of the *Carbonari*; that is, charcoal burners. Its objects were individual liberty, constitutional government, and national independence and unity; these it undertook to promote by agitation, by conspiracy, and, if necessary, by revolution.

The Italian agitators had a superstitious respect for a constitution; they appear to have regarded it not so much as a form of government, to be carefully adapted to the needs of a particular country and time, as a species of talisman which would insure liberty and prosperity to its happy possessor. So when the Neapolitans heard that the king of Spain had been forced by an insurrection to grant a constitution, they made the first attempt on the part of the Italian people to gain constitutional liberty by compelling their king to agree to accept the Spanish constitution (July, 1820). However, at the same time that the monarch was invoking the vengeance of God upon his own head, should he violate his oath of fidelity to the constitution, he was casting about for foreign assistance to suppress the revolution and enable him to return to his old ways.

He had not long to wait. The alert Metternich invited Russia, Prussia, France, and Great Britain to unite in order to check the development of "revolt and crime." He declared that the liberal movements, if unrestrained, would prove "not less tyrannical and fearful" in their results than that which had raised Napoleon to power. "Revolu-

tion" appeared to him and his conservative sympathizers as heresy appeared to Philip II: it was a fearful disease that not only destroyed those whom it attacked directly but spread contagion wherever it appeared, and justified prompt and sharp measures of quarantine and even violent intervention with a view of stamping out the devastating plague.

To the great joy of the king of Naples, Austria marched its troops into his territory (March, 1821) and, meeting but an ill-organized opposition, freed him from the limitations which his subjects had for the moment imposed upon him. An attempt on the part of the subjects of the king of Sardinia to win a constitution was also repressed by Austrian troops.

The weakness of the liberal movement in both southern and northern Italy appeared to be conclusively demonstrated. A new attempt ten years later, in Piedmont, Modena, and the Papal States, to get rid of the existing despotism was quite as futile as the revolution of 1820–1821. Yet there were two hopeful signs. Great Britain protested as early as 1820 against Metternich's theory of interfering in the domestic affairs of other independent states for the purpose of preventing reforms of which he disapproved, and France emphatically repudiated the doctrine of intervention on the accession of Louis Philippe in 1830. A second and far more important indication of progress was the increasing conviction on the part of the Italians themselves that their country ought to be a single nation and not, as hitherto, a group of small independent states under foreign influence.

A great leader arose in the person of the delicately organized and highly endowed Mazzini. He quickly became disgusted with the inefficiency and the silly mystery of the Carbonari, and founded a new association, called "Young Italy." This aimed to bring about the regeneration of Italy through educating the young men in lofty republican principles. Mazzini had no confidence in princes or in treaties or in foreign aid.

Mazzini's party saw no hope except in republican institu-

tions, but others were confident that an enlightened pope could form an Italian federation, of which he should be the head. And when Pius IX, upon his accession in 1846, immediately began to consult the interests and wishes of his people by subjecting priests to taxation, admitting laymen to his councils and tribunals, granting greater liberty of the press, and even protesting against Austrian encroachments, there seemed to be some ground for the belief that the Pope might take the lead in the regeneration of Italy.

The future belonged neither to the republicans nor to the papal party, but to those who looked for salvation in the gradual reformation of the existing monarchies, especially the kingdom of Sardinia. Only in this way was there any prospect of ousting Austria, and until this was accomplished no union, whether federal or otherwise, could possibly be formed.

The Restored Bourbons in France

When the allies entered Paris after the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, they once more restored the Bourbons to power by placing Louis XVIII on the throne. There was no danger now of an uprising of the people such as had occurred in 1792, when Austria and Prussia threatened to invade France in behalf of Louis XVI. During the intervening years the French had suffered such disaster at home and abroad that they were willing to accept as their ruler a king who seemed likely to restore peace and quiet to their land. Although the ill-advised conduct of Louis XVI had led to his deposition at a critical moment, the French were fond of having a king, and it had been an easy matter for Napoleon to reconvert the young French republic into a monarchy.

Louis XVIII was not a brilliant man. He was something of a scholar, easy-going, and adapted himself to the circumstances he found at his accession. He very wisely left the administrative arrangements of Napoleon intact and made no attempt

to take away from his subjects the rights they had secured through the Revolution. He granted the nation a constitution, called the *Charter*, which with some changes was maintained down to 1848, when France again for a brief period became a republic.

The provisions of the Charter furnish us with a statement of the permanent results of the Revolution. The concessions that Louis XVIII found it expedient to make "in view of the expectations of enlightened Europe" help us to measure the distance that separates his time from that of his unfortunate elder brother.

All Frenchmen are declared by the Charter to be equal before the law and equally eligible to civil and military positions. Personal and religious liberty is insured, and all citizens, without distinction of rank, are required to contribute to the taxes in proportion to their means. In short, almost all the great reforms proclaimed by the first Declaration of the Rights of Man are guaranteed. The laws are to be made by the king in coöperation with a House of Peers and a representative body, the Chamber of Deputies; the latter may impeach the king's ministers.

In spite of these enlightened provisions constant efforts were made by the ultra-royalist party—composed of the *émigré* nobles and led by the count of Artois—to force Louis to reestablish an absolute monarchy and restore the prerogatives which the privileged classes had formerly enjoyed. For some years Louis managed to keep the reactionary party in check, but in 1820 a tragic event occurred which altered the sentiments of the king. The duke of Berry, son of the count of Artois, was assassinated by a fanatical liberal who hoped thus to put an end to the Bourbon line of monarchs in France. From this time on Louis ceased vigorously to oppose the actions of the ultra-royalists and permitted the parliament to pass various oppressive measures. He was even persuaded to coöperate with the allies in attempting to quell the revolution in Spain.

In 1824 the aged king died, and the count of Artois at last came to the throne as Charles X. The new king had a very different temperament from that of his predecessor. For over thirty years he had been fretting to restore the lost authority of the Bourbons, and he now determined to rule with the power if not the glory of Louis XIV. Regardless of the warnings of the past he proceeded to rouse antagonism on all sides by his tactless methods and offensive measures. He soon showed his contempt for the Charter and made it plain that he intended to govern as he saw fit. He reëstablished the power of the Catholic Church and put education once more in the hands of the priests. He greatly increased the number of his enemies by enacting a law which provided for the indemnifying of the *émigrés* for their losses in the Revolution. The sum of a billion francs was to be raised for this purpose by reducing the payment of interest on the 5-per-cent government bonds to 3 per cent and handing over the balance to the nobles. This measure greatly antagonized the merchants, business men, and bankers, who did not wish to see their income going into the pockets of the *émigrés*.

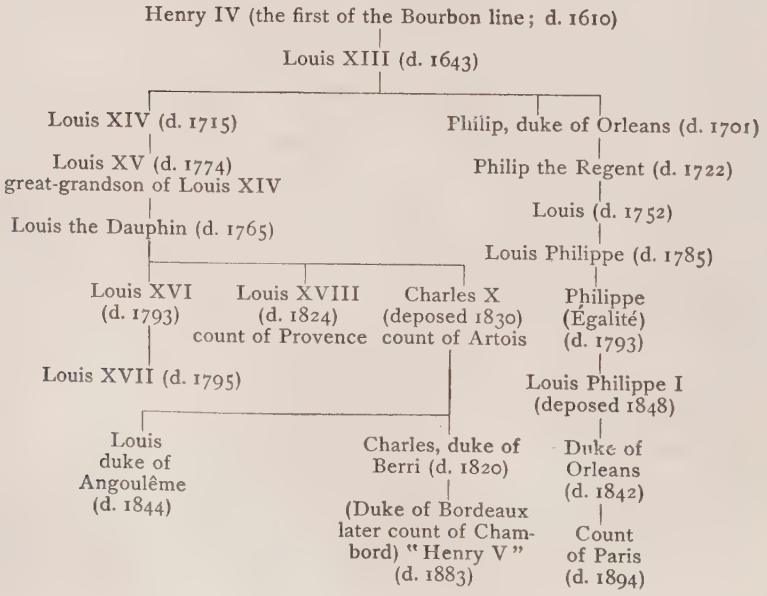
The royalists, who had controlled the House of Deputies, finally lost their influence, and republicans were elected in their places. When, in 1830, the king found that he was no longer in command of the Chamber, he dissolved it and boldly issued a series of decrees forbidding the publication of any journal without royal permission, limiting the vote to wealthy landholders, and providing that in future the king alone could make new laws. These ordinances took away from the French people practically all the rights granted in the Charter and placed them once more at the mercy of the king.

The following day (July 26, 1830) the newspapers published a protest and stated their intention to disregard the ordinances. Encouraged by the stand which the journalists had taken, the republicans, who had never given up their dreams of 1792 and had maintained their secret societies all along, proceeded to

organize an armed revolt. They were joined by workmen from the printing offices and from other establishments, and the revolt grew until Paris was in the hands of the insurgents. The king, who was at his palace at Saint-Cloud, refused to take the insurrection seriously, regarding it as a mere street fight.

When he finally realized the situation, he promised to repeal the offensive measures, but it was too late. A group of business men and bankers had already made plans to place on the throne Louis Philippe, a descendant of Henry IV through the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family.[1] Louis Philippe had associated with the Jacobins and fought in the army of the republic. Later he was exiled, but after the restoration he had become reconciled to Louis XVIII. He did not join the royalist party, however, but sought popular favor by professing democratic opinions and living the life of a plain citizen. He made friends with the bankers and business men of Paris and

[1] THE BOURBON KINGS


Henry IV (the first of the Bourbon line; d. 1610)
Louis XIII (d. 1643)
Louis XIV (d. 1715)
Philip, duke of Orleans (d. 1701)
Louis XV (d. 1774)
great-grandson of Louis XIV
Philip the Regent (d. 1722)
Louis the Dauphin (d. 1765)
Louis (d. 1752)
Louis Philippe (d. 1785)
Louis XVI (d. 1793)
Louis XVIII (d. 1824) count of Provence
Charles X (deposed 1830) count of Artois
Philippe (Égalité) (d. 1793)
Louis XVII (d. 1795)
Louis Philippe I (deposed 1848)
Louis duke of Angoulême (d. 1844)
Charles, duke of Berri (d. 1820)
Duke of Orleans (d. 1842)
(Duke of Bordeaux later count of Chambord) "Henry V" (d. 1883)
Count of Paris (d. 1894)

sent his children to the public schools. He was therefore the natural candidate for those who wished to retain a monarchy but to establish the middle class in control in place of the nobles and clergy. When Charles X was convinced that he could no longer keep the crown, he abdicated, and Louis Philippe was made king of France. The republicans, who had carried through the revolt, were sadly disappointed, for they found that their party was not yet strong enough to prevent another monarch from gaining the French throne. Both the aristocrats and the republicans had been forced to give way before the rising middle class of business men—the bourgeoisie.

The French Revolution of 1848; the Second Empire

The July revolution of 1830 had in reality brought few changes. The new king professed more liberal views, but the government was hardly more democratic than before. Parliament made the necessary changes in the Charter: freedom of the press was reaffirmed, and the provision which established the Roman Catholic religion as the religion of the State was stricken out; the tricolored flag of the Revolution replaced the white banner of the Bourbons; but France was still a monarchy, and these changes seemed slight to the ardent republicans and socialists, who wished to see the middle class divested of their wealth as the nobles and clergy formerly had been. They maintained that the king had too much power and could influence the parliament to make laws contrary to the wishes of the people at large. They also protested against the laws which excluded the poorer classes from voting (only two hundred thousand among a population of thirty million enjoyed that right), and demanded that every Frenchman should have the right to vote so soon as he reached maturity. As Louis Philippe grew older he became more and more suspicious of the liberal parties which had helped him to his throne. He not only opposed reforms himself but also did all he could to

keep the parliament and the newspapers from advocating any changes which the progressive parties demanded. Nevertheless the strength of the republicans gradually increased. They found allies in a new group of socialistic writers who desired a fundamental reorganization of the State.[1]

On February 24, 1848, a mob attacked the Tuileries. The king abdicated in favor of his grandson, but it was too late; he and his whole family were forced to leave the country. The mob invaded the assembly, as in the time of the Reign of Terror, crying: "Down with the Bourbons, old and new! Long live the Republic!" A provisional government was established which included the writer Lamartine; Louis Blanc, a prominent socialist; two or three editors; and several other politicians. The first decree of this body, ratifying the establishment of the republic, was solemnly proclaimed on the former site of the Bastille, February 27.

The provisional government was scarcely in session before it was threatened by the "red republic," whose representatives, the social democrats, desired to put the laboring classes in control of the government and let them conduct it in their own interests. Some advocated community of property, and wished to substitute the red flag for the national colors. The government went so far as to concede the so-called "right to labor," and engaged to establish national workshops in which all the unemployed were to be given an opportunity to work.

A National Assembly had been convoked whose members were elected by the ballots of all Frenchmen above the age of twenty-one. The result of the election was an overwhelming defeat for the social democrats. Their leaders then attempted to overthrow the new assembly on the pretext that it did not represent the people, but the national guard frustrated the attempt. The number of men now enrolled in the merely promised "national workshops" had reached one hundred and seventeen thousand, each of whom received two francs a day

[1] See Chapter XL for an account of the development of socialism.

in return for either useless labor or mere idleness. The abolition of this nuisance led to a serious revolt. Battle raged in the streets of Paris for three days, and over ten thousand persons were killed.

This wild outbreak of the forces of revolution resulted in a general conviction that a strong hand was essential to the maintenance of peace. The new constitution decreed that the president of the republic should be chosen by the people at large. Their choice fell upon the nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, Louis Napoleon, who had already made two futile attempts to make himself the ruler of France. Before the expiration of his four years' term he succeeded, by a *coup d'état* on the anniversary of the coronation of his uncle (December 2, 1851), in setting up a new government. He next obtained, by means of a plebiscite, the consent of the people to his remaining president for ten years. A year later (1852) the second empire was established, and Napoleon III became "Emperor of the French by the grace of God and the will of the people."

Belgium and Greece

Two events, at least, during the period of Metternich's influence served to encourage the liberals of Europe. In 1821 the inhabitants of Greece had revolted against the oppressive government of the Turks and succeeded in forcing the Sultan to acknowledge their independence in 1829.[1]

Another little kingdom—Belgium—was added to the European states by the revolt of the former Austrian Netherlands from the king of Holland, to whom they had been assigned by the Congress of Vienna. The southern Netherlands were still as different from the northern as they had been in the time of William the Silent. Holland was Protestant and German, whereas the southern provinces, to whom the union with Holland had always been distasteful, were Catholic and akin to

[1] See page 433, below.

the French in their sympathies. Encouraged by the revolution at Paris in 1830, the people of Brussels rose in revolt against their Dutch king and forced his troops to leave the city. Through the influence of Great Britain and France the European powers agreed to recognize the independence of the Belgians, who established a kingdom and introduced an excellent constitution providing for a limited monarchy modeled upon that of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY: THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

The Fall of Metternich (1848)

When Metternich heard of the February revolution of 1848 in France, he declared that "Europe finds herself today in the presence of a second 1793." This was not true, however. It was no longer necessary for France to promote liberal ideas by force of arms, as in 1793. For sixty years ideas of reform had been spreading in Europe, and by the year 1848 there were many representatives of democratic and national ideas from Berlin to Palermo. The Europe of 1848 was no longer the Europe of 1793.

The overthrow of Louis Philippe encouraged the opponents of Metternich in Germany, Austria, and Italy to attempt to make an end of his system at once and forever. In view of the important part that Austria had played in central Europe since the fall of Napoleon I, it was inevitable that she should appear the chief barrier to the attainment of national unity and liberal government in Italy and Germany. As ruler of Lombardy and Venetia she practically controlled Italy, and as presiding member of the German Confederation she had been able to keep even Prussia in line. It is not strange that Austria felt that she could make no concessions to the spirit of nationality, for the territories belonging to the House of Hapsburg, some twenty in number, were inhabited by four different races: Germans, Slavs, Hungarians, and Italians. The Slavs (especially the Bohemians) and the Hungarians longed for national independence, as well as the Italians.

On March 13 the populace of Vienna rose in revolt against their old-fashioned government. Metternich fled, and all his schemes for opposing reform appeared to have come to naught. Before the end of the month the helpless Austrian emperor had given his permission to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia to draw up constitutions for themselves incorporating the longed-for reforms (equality of all classes in the matter

THE VARIOUS RACES OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

of taxation, religious freedom, liberty of the press, and the rest) and providing that both countries should have a parliament of their own, which should meet annually. The Austrian provinces were promised similar advantages. None of them, however, showed any desire to throw off their allegiance to the Austrian ruler.

The rising in northern Italy, on the contrary, was directed to that particular end. Immediately on the news of Metternich's fall the Milanese expelled the Austrian troops from their city, and soon Austria had evacuated a great part of Lombardy.

The Venetians followed the lead of Milan and set up a republic once more. The Milanese, anticipating a struggle, appealed to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, for aid. By this time a great part of Italy was in revolt. Constitutions were granted in Naples, Rome, Tuscany, and Piedmont by their rulers. The king of Sardinia was forced by public opinion to assume the leadership in the attempt to expel the interloping Austria and ultimately, perhaps, to found some sort of an Italian state which should satisfy the longings for national unity. The Pope and even the Bourbon king of Naples were induced to consent to the arming and dispatch of troops in the cause of Italian freedom, and Italy began its first war for independence.

The crisis at home and the Italian war made it impossible for Austria to prevent the progress of revolution in Germany. So spontaneous was the movement that before the fall of Metternich movements for reform had begun in Baden, Württemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony. Now that Austria was hopelessly embarrassed the opportunity seemed to have come to reorganize the German Confederation.

The king of Prussia suddenly reversed his policy of obedience to Austria and determined to take the lead in Germany. He agreed to summon an assembly to draw up a constitution for Prussia. Moreover, a great national assembly was convoked at Frankfurt to draft a new constitution for Germany.

By the end of March, 1848, the prospects of reform were bright indeed. Hungary and Bohemia had been guaranteed constitutional independence; the Austrian provinces awaited their promised constitutions; Lombardy and Venetia had declared their independence of Austria; four Italian states had obtained their longed-for constitutions, and all were ready for a war with Austria; Prussia was promised a constitution; and, lastly, the National Assembly at Frankfurt was about to prepare a constitution for a united Germany.

The moderate reformers who had gained these seeming victories had, however, only just reached the most difficult

part of their task. They had two kinds of enemies, who abhorred each other but who effectually combined to undo the work of the moderates. These were, first, the conservative party, represented by Austria and the Italian rulers, who had been forced most reluctantly to grant constitutions to their subjects; secondly, the radicals, who were not satisfied with the prospect of a liberal monarchy and desired a republican or socialistic form of government. While the princes were recovering from the astonishing humiliations of March, the radicals began to discredit the revolutionary movement and alienate public opinion by fantastic programs and the murder of hostile ministers.

Although for the moment Austria's chief danger seemed to lie in Italy, which was the only one of her dependencies that had actually taken up arms against her, the Italians had been unable to drive out the Austrian army under the indomitable general Radetzky. Charles Albert of Sardinia found himself almost unsupported by the other Italian states. The best allies of Austria were the absence of united action on the part of the Italians and the jealousy and indifference that they showed as soon as war had actually begun. The Pope decided that his mission was one of peace and that he could not afford to join in a war against Austria, the stoutest supporter of the Roman Church. The king of Naples easily found a pretext for recalling the troops that public opinion had compelled him to send to the aid of the king of Sardinia. Charles Albert was defeated at Custozza, July 25, 1848, and was compelled to sign a truce with Austria and to withdraw his forces from Lombardy.

The Italian republicans, who had imputed to Charles Albert merely personal motives in his efforts to free Italy, now attempted to carry out their own program. Florence, as well as Venice, proclaimed itself a republic. At Rome the liberal and enlightened Rossi, whom the Pope had put at the head of affairs, was assassinated in November just as he was ready to promulgate his reforms. Pius IX fled from the city and put

himself under the protection of the king of Naples. A constitutional assembly was then convoked by the revolutionists, and in February, 1849, under the influence of Mazzini, it declared the temporal power of the Pope abolished and proclaimed a Roman republic.

How Austria reëstablished her Control (1849)

Meanwhile the conditions in Austria began to be favorable to a reëstablishment of the emperor's former influence. Race rivalry proved his friend in his Austrian domains just as republicanism tended to his ultimate advantage in Italy. The Czechs in Bohemia hated the Germans in 1848, much as they had hated them in the time of Huss. The German part of the population naturally opposed the plan of making Bohemia practically independent of the government at Vienna, for it was to German Vienna that they were wont to look for protection against the enterprises of their Czechish fellow countrymen. The Germans wanted to send delegates to the Frankfurt convention and to maintain the union between Bohemia and the German states.

The Czechs determined to offset the movement toward German consolidation by a Pan-Slavic Congress, which should bring together the various discontented Slavic peoples comprised in the Austrian empire. To this assembly, which met in Prague in June, 1848, came delegates from the Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, and Polish population in the north, and the Serbians and Croatians in the south. Its deliberations were interrupted by an insurrection that broke out among the people of Prague and gave the commander of the Austrian forces a sufficient excuse for intervening. He established a military government, and the prospect of independence for Bohemia vanished. This was Austria's first real victory.

The eastern and southern portions of the Hapsburg domains were not more homogeneous than were the west and the north. When a constitution was granted to Hungary, it was inevitable

that the races which the Hungarians (Magyars) had long dominated should begin to consider how they might gain the right to govern themselves. The Slavs inhabiting Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, and Serbia had long meditated upon the possibility of a united Slavic kingdom in the south.[1] Both the Serbians and the Croatians now revolted against Hungary, fearing that the establishment of Hungarian independence would put them at the mercy of the Magyars.

In October, 1848, the radical party rose in Vienna as it had in Paris after the deposition of Louis Philippe. The minister of war was brutally murdered, and the emperor fled. The city was, however, besieged by the same commander who had put down the insurrection in Prague, and was forced to surrender. The imperial government was now in a position still further to strengthen itself. The emperor, a notoriously inefficient person, was forced to abdicate (December 2, 1848) in favor of his youthful nephew, Francis Joseph I, who ruled for sixty-eight years. Moreover, a new Metternich appeared in the person of Schwarzenberg.

A vigorous campaign was begun against Hungary, which, under the influence of the patriotic Kossuth, had deposed its Hapsburg king, declared itself an independent republic, and chosen him president. The Tsar placed his forces at the disposal of Francis Joseph, and with the aid of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand Russians, who marched in from the east, the Hungarians were compelled, by the middle of August, 1849, to surrender. Austria took terrible vengeance upon the rebels. Thousands were hanged, shot, and imprisoned, and many, including Kossuth, fled to the United States or elsewhere. But within a few years Hungary won its independence by peaceful measures, and it was able to assume the same footing as the western dominions of Francis Joseph in the dual federation of Austria-Hungary (1866).

[1] This ambition was realized only after the World War in 1918.

It remained for Austria to reëstablish her prestige in Italy and in the German Confederation. In March, 1849, Charles Albert renewed the war which had been discontinued after the defeat at Custozza. The campaign lasted but five days and closed with his crushing and definitive defeat at Novara (March 23), which put an end to the hopes of Italian liberty for the time being. Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel, who was destined before many years to become king of Italy.

After bringing the king of Sardinia to terms, Austria pushed southward, reëstablishing the old order as she went. The ephemeral Italian republics were unable to offer any effectual resistance. The former rulers were restored in Rome, Tuscany, and Venice, and the constitutions were swept away from one end of the peninsula to the other, except in Piedmont, the most important part of the king of Sardinia's realms. There Victor Emmanuel not only maintained the representative government introduced by his father, but, by summoning to his councils men known throughout Italy for their liberal sentiments, he prepared to lead Italy once more against her foreign oppressors.

Failure to reconstruct Germany

In Germany, as elsewhere, Austria profited by the dissensions among her opponents. On May 18, 1848, the National Assembly, consisting of nearly six hundred representatives of the German people, had met at Frankfurt. It immediately began the consideration of a new constitution that should satisfy the popular longings for a great free German state to be governed by and for the people. But what were to be the confines of this new German state? The confederation of 1815 did not include all the German inhabitants of Prussia and did include the heterogeneous western possessions of Austria; Bohemia and Moravia, for example, where a great part of the people were Slavs. There was no hesitation in deciding that all

the Prussian territories should be admitted to the new union. As it appeared impossible to exclude Austria altogether, the Assembly agreed to include those parts of her territory which had belonged to the confederation formed in 1815. This decision rendered the task of founding a real German state practically impossible; for the new union was to include two great European powers who might at any moment become rivals, since Prussia would hardly consent to be led forever by Austria. So heterogeneous a union could only continue to be, as it had been, a loose confederation of practically independent princes.

In spite of her partiality for the old union, Austria could not prevent the Assembly from completing its new constitution. This provided that there should be a hereditary emperor at the head of the government, and that exalted office was tendered to the king of Prussia. Frederick William IV had been alienated from the liberal cause, which he had at first espoused, by an insurrection in Berlin. He was, moreover, timid and conservative at heart; he hated revolution and doubted if the National Assembly had any right to confer the imperial title. He also greatly respected Austria, and felt that a war with her, which was likely to ensue if he accepted the crown, would not only be dangerous to Prussia, since Francis Joseph could rely upon the assistance of the Tsar, but dishonorable as well, in Austria's present embarrassment. So he refused the honor of the imperial title and announced his rejection of the new constitution (April, 1849).

This decision rendered the year's work of the National Assembly fruitless, and its members gradually dispersed, with the exception of the radicals, who made a last desperate effort to found a republic. Austria now insisted upon the reëstablishment of the old diet, and nearly came to war with Prussia over the policy to be pursued. Hostilities were only averted by the ignominious submission of Prussia to the demands of Austria in 1851.

While the revolutions of 1848 seem futile enough when viewed from the standpoint of the hopes of March, they left some important indications of progress. The king of Prussia had granted his country a constitution which, with some modifications, served Prussia down to the end of the World War. Piedmont also had obtained a constitution. The internal reforms, moreover, which these countries speedily introduced, prepared them to head once more, and this time with success, a movement for national unity.

It will be noted that the revolution of 1848 aimed to do more than the French Revolution of 1789. Not only was the national question everywhere an important one, but there were plans for the economic reorganization of society. It was no longer simply a matter of abolishing the remnants of feudalism and insuring equal rights to all and the participation of the more prosperous classes in the government: those who lived by the labor of their hands and were employed in the vast industries that had developed with the application of steam machinery to manufacture also had their spokesmen. The relation of the state to the industrial classes, and of capital to labor, had emerged as vital problems. In 1851 Austria had once more, in spite of the greatest obstacles, reëstablished the system of Metternich. But this victory was of short duration, and it was her last.

Founding of the Kingdom of Italy (1861)

Under Victor Emmanuel and his great minister, Cavour, Piedmont had rapidly developed into a modern state. It sent a contingent to the aid of the western powers in the Crimean War waged by France and England against Russia (1853–1856);[1] it developed its resources, military and economic, and at last found an ally to help it in a new attempt to expel Austria from Italy.

[1] See page 434, below.

Napoleon III, like his far more distinguished uncle, was a usurper. He knew that he could not rely upon mere tradition, but must maintain his popularity by deeds that should redound to the glory of France. A war with Austria for the liberation of the Italians, who, like the French, were a Latin race, would be popular, especially if France could thereby add a bit of territory to her realms and perhaps become the protector of the proposed Italian confederation. A conference was arranged between Napoleon and Cavour. Just what agreement was reached we do not know, but Napoleon apparently engaged to come to the aid of the king of Sardinia should the latter find a pretense for going to war with Austria. Should they together succeed in expelling Austria from northern Italy, the king of Sardinia was to reward France by ceding to her Savoy and Nice, which both geographically and racially belonged to her.

By April, 1859, Victor Emmanuel had managed to provoke a war with Austria. The French army promptly joined forces with the Piedmontese and defeated the Austrians at Magenta, and on June 8 Napoleon III and Victor Emmanuel entered Milan amid the rejoicings of the people. The Austrians managed the campaign very badly, and were again defeated at Solferino (June 24).

Suddenly Europe was astonished to hear that a truce had been concluded and that the preliminaries of a peace had been arranged which left Venetia in Austria's hands, in spite of Napoleon III's boast that he would free Italy to the Adriatic. The French emperor had begun to fear that, with the growing enthusiasm throughout the peninsula for Piedmont, there was danger that it might succeed in forming a national kingdom so strong as to need no French protector. By leaving Venetia in possession of Austria, and agreeing that Piedmont should only be increased by the incorporation of Lombardy and the little duchies of Parma and Modena, Napoleon III hoped to prevent the consolidation of Italy from proceeding too far. Savoy and Nice were ceded to France.

He had, however, precipitated changes which he was powerless to check. Italy was now ready to fuse into a single state. Tuscany, as well as Modena and Parma, voted (March, 1860) to unite with Piedmont. Garibaldi, a famous republican leader, with his red-shirted followers, sailed for Sicily, where he assumed the dictatorship of the island in the name of Victor Emmanuel, "King of Italy." After expelling the troops of the king of Naples from Sicily he crossed to the mainland and, early in September, entered Naples itself, just as the king fled from the capital.

Garibaldi now proposed to march on Rome and proclaim the kingdom of Italy from the Quirinal. This would have imperiled all the previous gains; for Napoleon III could not, in view of the strong Catholic sentiment in France, possibly permit the occupation of Rome and the destruction of the political independence of the Pope. He agreed that Victor Emmanuel might annex the outlying papal possessions to the north and reëstablish a stable government in Naples instead of Garibaldi's dictatorship. But Rome, the imperial city, with the territory immediately surrounding it, must be left to its old master. Victor Emmanuel accordingly marched southward and occupied Naples (October). Its Bourbon king capitulated, and all southern Italy became a part of the kingdom of Italy.

In February, 1861, the first Italian parliament was opened at Turin, and the slow process of really amalgamating the heterogeneous portions of the new kingdom began. Yet the joy of the Italians over the realization of their hopes of unity and national independence was tempered by the fact that Austria still held one of the most famous of the Italian provinces, and that Rome, which typified Italy's former grandeur, was not included in the new kingdom. Within a decade, however, both these districts became a part of the kingdom of Italy through the action of Prussia. William I and his minister and adviser, Bismarck, were about to do for Germany what Victor Emmanuel and Cavour had accomplished for Italy.

Founding of the North German Federation, 1866

With the accession of William I in 1858[1] a new era dawned for Prussia. A practical and vigorous man had come into power whose great aim was to expel Austria from the German Confederation and to construct out of the remaining states a firm union, under the leadership of Prussia, which should take its place among the most powerful of the states of Europe. He saw that war would come sooner or later, and his first business was to develop the military resources of his realms.

The German army, which was the outgrowth of the early reforms of William I, became so extraordinary a feature of later Europe that its organization merits attention. The war of independence against Napoleon in 1813 had led to the summoning of the nation to arms, and a law was passed in Prussia making military service a universal obligation of every healthy male citizen. The first thing that William I did was to increase the annual levy from forty to sixty thousand men and to see that all the soldiers remained in active service three years. They then passed into the reserve, according to the existing law, where for two years more they remained ready at any time to take up arms should it be necessary. William wished to increase the term of service in the reserve to four years. In this way the state would claim seven of the years of early manhood and have an effective army of four hundred thousand, which would permit it to dispense with the service of those who were approaching middle life. The lower house of the Prussian parliament refused, however, to make the necessary appropriations for increasing the strength of the army.

Nevertheless the king proceeded with his plan, and in 1862 called to his side a Prussian statesman, Bismarck, who would carry out that plan. The new minister conceived a scheme for laying Austria low and exalting Prussia, which he succeeded in

[1] He ruled until 1861 as regent for his brother, Frederick William IV, who was incapacitated by disease.

accomplishing with startling precision. He could not, however, reveal it to the lower chamber; he would, indeed, scarcely hint its nature to the king himself. In defiance of the lower house and of the newspapers he carried on the strengthening of the army without formal appropriations, on the theory that the constitution had not provided for a deadlock between the upper and the lower house, and that consequently the king might in such a case exercise his former absolute power. For a time it seemed as if Prussia was returning to a pure despotism, for there was assuredly no more fundamental provision of the constitution than the right of the people to control the granting of the taxes. Yet Bismarck was eventually fully exonerated by public opinion in Prussia, for it was agreed that the end had amply justified the means.

Prussia now had a military force that appeared to justify the hope of victory should she undertake a war with her old rival. In order to bring about the expulsion of Austria from the Confederation, Bismarck took advantage of a knotty problem that had been troubling Germany, and which was known as the Schleswig-Holstein affair. The provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, although inhabited partly by Germans, had for centuries belonged to the king of Denmark. They were allowed, however, to retain their provincial assemblies, and were not considered a part of Denmark any more than Hanover was a part of Great Britain in the last century.

In 1847, just when the growing idea of nationality was about to express itself in the Revolution of 1848, the king of Denmark proclaimed that he was going to make these German provinces an integral part of the Danish kingdom. This aroused great indignation throughout Germany, especially as Holstein was a member of the Confederation. The controversy over the relation of these provinces to the Danish kingdom continued for nearly twenty years, until in 1863 the king of Denmark, in spite of the opposition of Prussia, incorporated

Schleswig into his kingdom. In this situation Bismarck saw an opportunity to carry out his plans.

Bismarck's first step was to invite Austria to coöperate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein difficulty. As Denmark refused to make any concessions, the two powers declared war, defeated the Danish army, and forced the king of Denmark to cede Schleswig-Holstein to the rulers of Prussia and Austria jointly (October, 1864). They were to make such disposition of the provinces as they saw fit. There was now no trouble in picking a quarrel with Austria. Bismarck suggested that the duchies should be nominally independent, but that they should become practically a part of Prussia. This plan was of course indignantly rejected by Austria; and it was arranged that, pending an adjustment, Austria should govern Holstein, and Prussia should govern Schleswig.

Bismarck now obtained the secret assurance of Napoleon III that he would not interfere if Prussia and Italy should go to war with Austria. In April, 1866, Italy agreed that should the king of Prussia take up arms during the following three months, with the aim of re-forming the German union, it too would immediately declare war on Austria, with the hope, of course, of obtaining Venice. The relations between Austria and Prussia grew more and more strained, until finally in June, 1866, Austria induced the German diet to call out the forces of the Confederation with a view to making war on Prussia. This act, the representative of Prussia declared, put an end to the existing union. He accordingly submitted to the diet Prussia's scheme for the fundamental reorganization of Germany, and withdrew from the assembly.

On June 12, 1866, war was declared between Austria and Prussia. With the exception of Mecklenburg and the small states of the north, all Germany sided with Austria against Prussia. Bismarck immediately demanded of the rulers of the larger North German states, Hanover, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel, that they stop their warlike preparations and agree to

accept Prussia's plan of reform. On their refusal Prussian troops immediately occupied these territories, and war actually began.

So effective was the organization of the Prussian army that in spite of the suspicion and even hatred which the liberal party in Prussia entertained for the despotic Bismarck, all resistance on the part of the states of the north was promptly prevented, Austria was miserably defeated on July 3 in the

GERMAN STATES SEIZED BY PRUSSIA IN 1866

decisive battle of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, and within three weeks after the breaking off of diplomatic relations the war was practically over. Austria's influence in Germany was at an end, and Prussia had won the power to do with Germany as she pleased.

Prussia was aware that the larger states south of the river Main were not ripe for the union that she desired. She therefore organized a so-called North German Federation, which included all the states north of the Main. Prussia had seized the opportunity to increase considerably her own boundaries

and round out her territory by annexing the North German states (with the exception of Saxony) that had refused to join her against Austria. Hanover,[1] Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfurt, along with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, all became Prussian.

Prussia, thus enlarged, summoned the lesser states about her to confer upon a constitution that should accomplish four ends. First, it must give all the people of the territory included in the new union, regardless of the particular state in which they lived, a voice in the government. A popular assembly satisfied this demand. Secondly, the predominating position of Prussia must be secured, but at the same time (thirdly) the self-respect of the other monarchs whose lands were included must not be sacrificed. To accomplish this double purpose the king of Prussia was made *president* of the federation but not its *sovereign*. The chief governing body was the Federal Council (*Bundesrath*). In this each ruler, however small his state, and each of the three free towns, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck, had at least one vote; in this way it was arranged that the other rulers did not become *subjects* of the king of Prussia. The real sovereign of the North German Federation and of the later German Empire was not the king of Prussia, but "all of the united governments." The votes were distributed as in the old diet, so that Prussia, with the votes of the states that she annexed in 1866, enjoyed seventeen votes out of forty-three. Lastly, the constitution must be so arranged that when the time came for the southern states—Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and south Hesse—to join the union, it would be adapted to the needs of the widened empire.

The union was a true federation like that of the United States, although its organization disregarded many of the rules which were observed in the organization of the American union. It was inevitable that a union spontaneously developed from a

[1] The "personal union" of Hanover and Great Britain had ceased with Victoria's accession in 1837, as its laws precluded a woman sovereign.

group of sovereign *monarchies*, with their traditions of absolutism, would be very different from one in which the members, like the states of the American union, had previously been governed by *republican* institutions.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871)

No one was more chagrined by the abrupt termination of the war of 1866 and the victory of Prussia than Napoleon III. He had hoped that both the combatants might be weakened by a long struggle, and that at last he might have an opportunity to arbitrate and incidentally to gain something for France, as had happened after the Italian war. But Prussia came out of the conflict with greatly increased power and territory, while France had gained nothing. An effort of Napoleon's to get a foothold in Mexico had failed, owing to the recovery of the United States from the Civil War and their warning that they should regard his continued intervention there as a hostile act. His hopes of annexing Luxemburg as an offset for the gains that Prussia had made were also frustrated.

One course remained for the French emperor; namely, to permit himself to become involved in a war against the power which had especially roused the jealousy of France. The nominal pretext for hostilities was relatively unimportant. In 1869 Spain was without a king, and the crown was tendered to Leopold of Hohenzollern, a very distant relative of William I of Prussia. This greatly excited the people of Paris, for it seemed to them only an indirect way of bringing Spain under the influence of Prussia. The French minister of foreign affairs declared that the candidacy was an attempt to "reëstablish the empire of Charles V." In view of this opposition Leopold withdrew his acceptance of the Spanish crown early in July, 1870, and Europe believed the incident to be at an end. The French ministry, however, was not satisfied with this, and demanded that the king of Prussia should pledge himself that the

candidacy should never be renewed. This William refused to do. Bismarck did not hesitate to report the circumstances in the German newspapers in such a way that it appeared as if the French ambassador had insulted King William. The Parisians, on the other hand, received the impression that their ambassador had been affronted, and they demanded an immediate declaration of war.

Bismarck welcomed the war because he believed that it would force the South German states into a union under Prussia. On the other hand, the hostility which the South German states had hitherto shown toward Prussia encouraged Napoleon III to believe that as soon as the French troops should gain their first victory, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden would join him. This first French victory was never won. War had no sooner been declared than the Germans laid all jealousy aside and ranged themselves as a nation against a foreign power. The French army, moreover, was neither well equipped nor well commanded. The Germans hastened across the Rhine and within a few days were driving the French before them. In a series of bloody encounters about Metz one of the French armies was defeated and finally shut up within the fortifications of the town. Seven weeks had not elapsed after the beginning of the war before the Germans had captured a second French army and made a prisoner of the emperor himself in the great battle of Sedan, September 1, 1870.

The Germans then surrounded and laid siege to Paris. Napoleon III had been completely discredited by the disasters about Metz and at Sedan, and consequently the empire was abolished, and France for the third time was declared a republic. In spite of the energy which the new government showed in arousing the French against the invaders, prolonged resistance was impossible. The capital surrendered on January 28, 1871, and an armistice was arranged. Bismarck greatly humiliated France in drafting the treaty of peace by requiring the cession of two French provinces, Alsace and northeastern Lor-

raine.[1] In this way France was cut off from the Rhine, and the crest of the Vosges Mountains was established as its boundary. The Germans exacted, further, an enormous indemnity for those days,—five billion francs,—and German troops were to occupy France till it was paid. The French people made personal sacrifices to hasten the payment of this indemnity in order that the country might be freed from the presence of the hated Prussians. The bitter feeling of the French for the Germans dates from this war, and the fate of Alsace-Lorraine was one of the crucial issues of the World War of 1914. Until 1919 a statue in Paris, representing the lost city of Strasbourg, was draped in mourning.

The war between France and Prussia in 1870, instead of hindering the development of Germany as Napoleon III had hoped it would, only served to consummate the work of 1866. The South German states (Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and south Hesse), having sent their troops to fight side by side with the Prussian forces, consented after their common victory over France to join the North German Federation. Surrounded by the German princes, William, king of Prussia and president of the North German Federation, was proclaimed German Emperor in the palace at Versailles in January, 1871. In this way the German Empire came into existence. With its powerful and victorious army and its chancellor, Bismarck, it immediately took a leading place among the western powers of Europe.

Immediately after the surrender of Paris the new republican government had been called upon to subdue a terrible insur-

[1] Alsace had, with certain reservations, especially as regarded Strasbourg and the other free towns, been ceded to the French king by the Treaty of Westphalia (see Vol. I, p. 497). During the reign of Louis XIV all of Alsace had been annexed by France (1681). The duchy of Lorraine had upon the death of its last duke fallen to France in 1766. It had previously been regarded as a part of the Holy Roman Empire. The part of Lorraine demanded by Germany in 1871 included about one third of the original duchy, in which was the fortified city of Metz.

rection of the Parisian populace. The insurgents reëstablished the commune of the Reign of Terror, and rather than let Paris come again into the hands of the national government, they proposed to burn the city. When, after two months of disorder, their forces were completely routed in a series of bloody street fights, the city was actually set on fire; but only two important public buildings were destroyed, the palace of the Tuileries and the city hall.

A National Assembly had been elected by the people in February, 1871, to make peace with Germany and to draw up a new constitution. Under this temporary government France gradually recovered from the terrible loss and demoralization caused by the war. There was much uncertainty for several years as to just what form the constitution would permanently take, for the largest party in the National Assembly was composed of those who favored the reëstablishment of a monarchy.[1] Those who advocated maintaining the republic prevailed, however, and in 1875 the assembly passed a series of laws organizing the government. These have since served France as a constitution.

Rome becomes the Capital of Italy

The unification of Italy was completed, like that of Germany, by the Franco-Prussian War. After her defeat in 1866 Austria had ceded Venetia to Italy. Napoleon III had, however, sent French troops in 1867 to prevent Garibaldi from seizing Rome and the neighboring districts, which had

[1] The monarchical party naturally fell into two groups. One, the so-called *Legitimists*, believed that the elder Bourbon line, to which Louis XVI and Charles X had belonged, should be restored in the person of the count of Chambord, a grandson of Charles X. The *Orleanists*, on the other hand, wished the grandson of Louis Philippe, the count of Paris, to be king. In 1873 the Orleanists agreed to help the count of Chambord to the throne as Henry V, but that prince frustrated the plan by refusing to accept the national colors (red, white, and blue), which had become so endeared to the nation that it appeared dangerous to exchange them for the white of the Bourbons. See table on page 336.

been held by the head of the Catholic Church for more than a thousand years. In August, 1870, the reverses of the war compelled Napoleon to recall the French garrison from Rome, and the Pope made little effort to defend his capital against the Italian army, which occupied it in September. The people of Rome voted by an overwhelming majority to join the kingdom of Italy; and the work of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour was consummated by transferring the capital to the Eternal City.

Although the papal possessions were declared a part of the kingdom of Italy, a law was passed which guaranteed to the Pope the rank and privileges of a sovereign prince. He was to have his own ambassadors and court like the other European powers. No officer of the Italian government was to enter the Lateran or Vatican palaces upon any official mission. As head of the Church the Pope was to be entirely independent of the king of Italy, and the bishops were not required to take the oath of allegiance to the government. A sum of over six hundred thousand dollars annually was also appropriated to aid the Pope in defraying his expenses. The Pope, however, refused to recognize the arrangement. He continued to regard himself as a prisoner and the Italian government as a usurper who had robbed him of his possessions. He never accepted the income assigned to him, and still maintains that the independence which he formerly enjoyed as ruler of the Papal States is essential to the best interests of the head of a great international Church.

In order to maintain the dignity and security of her new position Italy rapidly increased her army and navy. Universal military service was introduced as in other European states, and modern warships were built. Then the Italians decided to seek colonies in Africa, and in 1887 sent an army into Abyssinia; but after fifteen years of intermittent warfare they were able to retain only a strip along the coast of the Red Sea. Later, in 1912, after a war with Turkey they took Tripoli, on the south shore of the Mediterranean.

The cost of armaments reduced Italy almost to bankruptcy at times, and, as it was not a rich country, made the taxes excessive. Since these fell largely on the poor, hundreds of thousands of Italians left their own land and sought new homes in the United States or in Argentina. Many of those who stayed at home were discontented with the government and became socialists. Progress, however, was made in spite of these drawbacks; railroads were built by the state to open up the country, and manufactures have grown up in the northern part so that Milan and Turin are today among the great manufacturing cities of Europe. National schools are providing better education, although the peasants in the mountainous districts are still very ignorant and superstitious.

The German Empire

In the new German Empire the dominating position was occupied by Prussia. Her territory comprised nearly two thirds of the whole empire, and her citizens amounted to nearly two thirds of the entire population of Germany. The constitution of 1866 had been drawn up with the hope that the southern states would later become a part of the union; consequently little change was necessary when the empire was established. The head of the federation was the king of Prussia, who bore the title of "German Emperor." According to the constitution the sovereignty was vested in the whole body of German rulers who were members of the union, all of whom sent their representatives to the Federal Council, or *Bundesrath*. Prussia's control of the Bundesrath was secured, however, by assigning her king a sufficient number of votes to enable him to veto any measure he wished. Moreover, as German emperor (*Kaiser*) he enjoyed many powers exercised by an absolute monarch. He appointed and dismissed the chancellor, who was, next to the Kaiser, the highest official in the government. He commanded the unconditional obedience of

all German soldiers and sailors and appointed the chief officers of the army and navy.

The House of Representatives, or *Reichstag*, consisting of about four hundred members, was elected by universal male suffrage for a period of five years. The emperor might, however, with the consent of the Bundesrath dissolve it at any time if it refused to pass the measures of his ministers.

The constitution gave the federal government power to regulate commerce, railways, telegraphs, and the currency. Under Bismarck as chancellor the old systems of the various states were subjected to uniform regulations. The bewildering variety of coins and paper money in the several states was done away with, and the mark (normally worth about twenty-five cents) became the basis for the currency of the whole empire. A tariff system was introduced to encourage home industries by protecting the entire kingdom from foreign competition. The period between 1871 and 1914 was one of rapid development. Large manufacturing towns sprang up, railways were built, and industry made remarkable progress.

A new political party soon appeared, known as the Social Democratic Labor Party, which based its platform on the theories of Karl Marx.[1] Socialism developed in Germany as elsewhere with the introduction of machinery and the growth of factories. Bismarck became alarmed, and in 1878 a law was passed to suppress socialistic agitation. To allay the discontent caused by the measure the government undertook to introduce various socialistic measures of its own. The state gradually acquired the ownership of railways and mines until, at the opening of the World War, the national property was valued at about seven billion dollars, with an income of about three hundred million dollars. The federal government also arranged a system of insurance for workingmen against sickness and accident and required the employers to contribute to the expense. Similar laws later were passed to provide

[1] See Chapter XL, below.

pensions in old age. These measures, however, failed to satisfy the socialists, for they claimed that this kind of "state" socialism did not really alter the conditions of labor for the workingmen or give them greater control of industry.

On the death of Kaiser William I in 1888 his grandson, the "Kaiser" of the World War, William II,[1] succeeded to the throne. Bismarck soon fell out with the arrogant new ruler and resigned in 1890. None of the chancellors appointed by William II, however, exhibited the capacity of the "iron chancellor," as Bismarck was called.

During the reign of William II (1888–1918) Germany increased rapidly in wealth and population. Vast new cities grew up; old ones were improved and laid out with great boulevards. German steamship lines, heavily subsidized by the government, developed rapidly, and their vessels were soon sailing on every sea. The farmers and manufacturers flourished, owing to the distant markets opened up by the new German merchant marine.

Germany also sought colonies and got control of the large provinces of Togo and Cameroons in West Africa. She established a protectorate called German Southwest Africa, far larger than the area of the German Empire. Germans also established themselves in German East Africa. In 1897 they seized the port of Kiaochow in China and began to look about for still further colonial expansion. Few Germans, however, cared to emigrate to the new colonies, and they proved a costly luxury.

From a relatively poor country in 1871, Germany became by 1914 a rich and powerful nation with thriving industries at home and an almost unrivaled commerce abroad. As one recalls the condition of the ancient Holy Roman Empire in Napoleon's day the revolution of affairs is truly astonishing.

[1] William II's father, Frederick, lived for only a few months after the death of the old Kaiser. The new Kaiser was a grandson of Queen Victoria and spoke and wrote English excellently.

The Third French Republic

As one reviews the history of France since the establishment of the First Republic in 1792, it appears as if revolutionary changes of government had been very frequent. As a matter of fact the various revolutions produced far less change in the system of government than is usually supposed. They neither called in question the main provisions of the Declaration of the Rights of Man drawn up in 1789, nor did they materially alter the system of administration which was established by Napoleon immediately after his accession in 1800. So long as the latter was retained, the civil rights and equality of all citizens secured, and the representatives of the nation permitted to control the ruler, it really made little difference whether France was called an empire, a constitutional monarchy, or a republic.

The president of the French republic is elected for seven years by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies meeting together. The real head of the government, however, is the prime minister, who, with the other ministers, forms a cabinet, responsible to parliament as in England. The parliament of France differs from the Congress of the United States (and from the Parliament of Great Britain, in former days) in the way it works. Instead of two great parties, there are about ten groups of members, each representing certain ideas. A few monarchists still sit on the seats at the extreme right of the speaker's desk. Next to them are the very conservative republicans. The largest group is that of the "radicals," or reformers, and at the left are a number of socialists representing the working classes.

In order to remain in power the cabinet must have the support of a majority in the Chamber of Deputies, as the house of representatives is called. This is elected every four years by universal male suffrage. When the cabinet loses the confidence of the Chamber of Deputies it resigns, and the president ap-

points a new prime minister. It is his task to form a new cabinet whose policy is likely to win the favor of the Chamber. The Senate is elected for nine years, in a more complicated fashion than the lower house—one hundred members being elected every third year—and tends to be more conservative than the Chamber.

France under the Third Republic steadily increased in wealth, the French peasants being noted for their thrift and economy. The savings of the French peasants enabled the great banks to lend money to other nations, particularly to Russia, so that Paris came to rival London and New York as a money center.

A system of national education was introduced. A public-school system was established in which priests and members of religious orders were forbidden to teach, and the private schools which had been run mainly by religious orders were placed under strict government inspection. The government granted large sums of money to carry on its system of education and established normal schools for the training of teachers.

By the treaty, or "Concordat," of 1801, between Napoleon and the Pope the bishops were appointed by the government, and the salaries of all the clergy were paid by the state. The clergy, therefore,—naturally a very influential class because of their religious duties,—were in a sense government officials as well as clergymen. Many of the republicans had ceased to believe in what the Catholic Church taught, and finally a law was passed in 1905 to separate the Church and State in France. The government discontinued the contributions to the clergy, but placed the churches at the disposal of the priests. On the other hand, to punish the clergy for refusing to accept the new arrangement, palaces of bishops and theological seminaries were turned into schools and hospitals. The Catholic Church in France is now dependent, as are all churches in America, upon the voluntary contributions of those who are interested in supporting it.

France also followed a policy of colonial expansion. The French had earlier conquered Algeria and made settlements on the western coast of Africa. After the Franco-Prussian War there was still greater activity and interest in gaining colonies. Before the World War in 1914 France had succeeded in creating an empire in Africa many times her size, as Germany had done. The exports and imports from these colonies represented a business of millions of dollars. France also acquired in southern Asia a large territory lying between India and China, usually called Indo-China.

CHAPTER XXXIII

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER EMPIRE

The Coming of Machinery

While the governments of Europe were absorbed in the events of the French Revolution and the audacious exploits of Napoleon, a silent but mighty revolution was taking place in England which was to make her in the nineteenth century the foremost manufacturing and exporting country in the world. This revolution was destined, moreover, to spread and affect mankind more widely and permanently than any of the political changes which for the time being seemed so momentous, for it was to create our modern industrial world as we know it today.

This far-reaching change, which had its beginning in England in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was due to the discovery that mechanical energy could be brought into the service of man on an unprecedented scale; that machines could be devised which would rapidly and tirelessly perform many of the tasks which had been done slowly and painfully by hand; that the steam engine would supply power not only to drive machines for the manufacture of goods but to propel trains and ships which would carry these goods across land and sea.

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the people of western Europe had made little progress in practical invention; for the most part they continued, like the rest of the world, to till their fields, weave their cloth, and saw and plane their boards by hand, much as the ancient Egyptians had done. Merchandise was still transported in slow, lumbering carts, and letters were as long in getting from London to Rome

as in the time of Constantine. The series of ingenious devices which were invented in England eclipsed the achievements of centuries and ultimately revolutionized every branch of business. The change which overtook industry as a result of the introduction of machinery is popularly known as the Industrial or Mechanical Revolution. These mechanical inventions, beginning in a humble way in the eighteenth century, have continued to grow in number and complexity down to our own time, until today we live in a world of such perfected and standardized accomplishment that we are scarcely aware of the gradually accumulated knowledge and skill which lie behind the most familiar processes of our everyday life.[1]

Among the first inventions were those which completely changed the process of the manufacture of cloth. The simple method of spinning which had been in use for thousands of years had enabled the spinner to twist only one or at best two threads at a time. In 1767 James Hargreaves, an English spinner, invented a "spinning jenny," a device which would twist eight or ten threads at once, so that a workman by turning a wheel could do the work of eight or ten spinners. This machine was soon improved so that it spun twenty threads. The next year Richard Arkwright, a barber, patented a device that consisted of a series of rollers which drew out the threads very firmly. Before the end of the century improved machines were able to spin two hundred threads simultaneously. These

[1] A discussion of the complexity of our present conditions of living would carry our story too far afield, but even a little reflection will serve to show the marvelous progress that has been made since Napoleon's time in increasing the number of comforts and luxuries within the reach of those of even very moderate means. The trifling sum which we pay for the daily delivery at our door of *pasteurized* milk, and of the morning newspaper, which brings to our knowledge the striking events which have happened throughout the world within the past few hours; the distances which the various articles of food have traveled to reach our breakfast table; the ride to business in an electric-driven street car or train, and the telephone which enables us to communicate with a friend many miles away, are but a few of the results of the patient research of scientists and inventors who produced the great revolution of the nineteenth century.

devices were driven by water or steam power, required only one or two watchers, and produced thread so cheaply that the hand workers could not compete with them.

The enormous increase in the output of thread made the old hand looms seem slow and clumsy, and there was great need for a new loom which could weave the thread as fast as it was spun. In 1784 Dr. Cartwright, a clergyman of Kent, patented a loom run by water power which automatically threw the shuttle and shifted the warp. This machine was steadily improved during the nineteenth century until today a single machine can weave as much cloth in a day as two hundred weavers could have made with the old-fashioned hand loom. Other important inventions followed. The bleaching of cloth, which had required several months' exposure to sunlight, was now accomplished in a few days by the use of chemicals.

In 1792 Eli Whitney, in the United States, invented a power "gin" which enabled one man to clean the seeds from fifty pounds of cotton a day instead of five or six pounds, which had been the average for a hand worker. Previous to this time linen and woolen cloth had been used almost exclusively for clothing, but the invention of the cotton gin soon made it possible to produce cotton goods more cheaply than other materials and led to the widespread use of cotton clothing at the present day. The cotton gin has been greatly improved since Whitney's time, and a modern machine run by steam will clean three or four thousand pounds of cotton a day.

At first the new machines were run by water power, and consequently mills or factories were placed near waterfalls or streams. This, however, often proved an inconvenience, and, moreover, it was necessary to have a more powerful and reliable driving force than wind or stream for the increased number of factories that had sprung up since the new inventions. James Watt, an instrument maker of Glasgow, was the first to improve the early, crude steam engine (known as Newcomen's engine) so that it could be used to furnish power for the fac-

tories. In 1785 the steam engine was first used to operate spinning machinery in a factory in Nottinghamshire. Arkwright adopted it in 1790, and by the end of the century steam engines were generally replacing the old windmills and water mills.

While new methods of spinning and weaving were being introduced, other inventors were improving the ways of melting and forging iron out of which machines could be made. New processes were found for reducing the iron from the ore and working it up into a durable material of which to make the new machines. After 1750 coal began to be used instead of charcoal as fuel for the furnace, and the old-fashioned bellows were replaced by blast furnaces. Steam hammers weighing hundreds of pounds were invented to beat the hot iron into shape.

Effects of the Factory System

The new machines not only revolutionized the process of making goods but entirely changed the conditions under which people lived and worked. Artisans had been able formerly to carry on their trades with their own tools in their own cottages or in small shops, as the cobbler does today. They were often able to give some time to cultivating a garden plot from which they derived part of their support. But with the introduction of machinery the domestic system had to be given up, for the workmen no longer owned their tools but had to be gathered into mills or factories to manage the machines. The workmen, moreover, had to live near their work; and since the factories usually were in towns, the operatives had to leave their village homes and move into town. Long rows of houses, without grassplots or gardens, were hastily built for the workers near the factories, and since these were the best lodgings they could afford, the ugly tenement districts of our cities came into existence.

The factory system also produced two distinct classes in the business world. There was on the one hand the *capitalist*, who

owned the buildings and machinery, and on the other the *worker*, who was entirely dependent on the capitalist employer for his daily bread. As long as there were plenty of workmen seeking employment the owner could fix a low wage and long hours. Since the labor in the modern factory was largely confined to watching machines, piecing broken threads, and working levers, women and children could be utilized as effectively as men and much more cheaply. So the factory system tended greatly to increase the number of women and children who were forced to leave their homes and seek employment in the factories. The long hours of monotonous labor and the condition of the factories led to grave abuses, which the State finally sought to remedy by law. Although some of the worst hardships have been removed, there is still much to be done in lightening the burden, which falls especially on women workers.

The Industrial Revolution, in addition to changing the old methods of living, traveling, and working, gave an entirely new direction to European politics and to theories of government and industry. The two great classes created by the Industrial Revolution, the capitalist class and the working class, each entered politics on its own account, and each had a theory of government.

The capitalist and business classes maintained that the government should not attempt to regulate the prices of goods or their quality. Neither should it interfere with the employer and his workmen, except to protect them from violence; it should not fix the hours of work or the conditions in the factories. Prices, they maintained, would be kept down by competition among the manufacturers, and wages would be fixed by the supply and demand. Everyone should have the greatest freedom to do what he was able to do. If he were a person of ability, he would prosper; if he had no special ability, he could only hope to get the wages that the employer found it advantageous to pay him.

The chief trouble with this political economy was that it did not work well in practice. On the contrary, the great manufacturing cities, instead of being filled with happy and prosperous people, became the homes of a small number of capitalists who had grown rich as the owners and directors of the factories, and multitudes of poor working people with no other resources than their wages, which were often not enough to keep their families from starvation.

After the close of the Napoleonic wars, as things got worse rather than better, there were increasing signs of discontent in England. This led to various attempts to improve matters. In the first place there were those who hoped to secure reforms by extending the right to vote, in order that the working classes might be represented in Parliament and so have laws passed to remedy the worst evils at least.

In addition to this attempt to secure reform by political action, the workingmen formed unions of their own in the various trades and industries, for the purpose of protecting themselves by dealing in a body with their employers. This trade-union movement is one of the most important social developments in modern times. It began in the early part of the nineteenth century.[1] At first the formation of unions was forbidden by English law, and it was regarded as a crime for workingmen to combine together to raise wages. Men were sentenced to imprisonment or deportation as convicts because they joined such "combinations," or unions. In 1824 Parliament repealed this harsh law, and trade-unions increased rapidly. They were hampered, however, by various restrictions; and even now, although they have spread widely all over the world, people are by no means agreed as to whether they are the best means of improving labor conditions.

[1] The craft guilds described in a previous chapter (Vol. I, pp. 270 ff.) somewhat resembled modern labor unions, but they included both capitalists and laborers. Our labor unions did not grow out of the medieval guilds, but were organized to meet conditions that resulted from the Industrial Revolution.

A third general proposal for improving the situation of the great mass of the working people was what is known as socialism. This contemplated the overthrow of the whole capitalistic system and the substitution for the capitalists of the workers themselves, who were to control industry in their own interest. The growth and power of socialistic parties, which have recently come to play a great rôle in European politics, will be taken up in the final chapter.

While England was the leader in the Industrial Revolution and the modern development of manufacture and business, the introduction of machinery began to take place on the Continent after the Napoleonic wars. Factories sprang up in France, Germany, and all the leading countries, and it was on the Continent rather than in England that socialism made its most rapid progress.

Reforming the British Parliament

Within fifty years of the introduction of the factory system many of the farms and small villages of southern England had been deserted, and the people had flocked to the new manufacturing centers in the north in search of work. While in the south the birth rate declined, in the crowded factory towns the population was almost doubled, and men, women, and children labored day and night amidst the roar of machinery to earn enough to subsist in crowded and unsanitary lodgings.

As the Industrial Revolution changed England from a placid country of farms with an occasional town into a busy manufacturing nation with vast cities crowded with factories and tenement houses, it became more and more apparent that Parliament would have to introduce some reforms to remedy the often distressing conditions which accompanied this great and sudden business development.

The reform that was most insistently called for was the privilege of voting, for many of the workers believed that it

was only through the ballot that they could secure an improvement in their wretched lot.

In comparison with other European countries in the eighteenth century England seemed to have a free and representative government. The powers of the king were strictly limited; the making of laws and the levying of taxes were in the hands of Parliament; a system of courts saw that the laws were carried out and the liberties of the subjects safeguarded. But, for all the seeming advance of constitutional government over the benevolent despotisms of the Continent, Parliament did not really represent the great mass of the people of England. The vote was not regarded as the right of every citizen, rich and poor, as it is with us today, but was looked upon as a privilege to which a property holder was entitled in virtue of his possessions. The great working population were naturally not in this group.

Parliament had become a council of wealthy landholders, nobles, and successful business men, who ran the government in their own interests and were opposed to any further extension of the right to vote. Besides the property qualifications which excluded the great majority of the people from electing representatives to Parliament, the apportionment of members was entirely out of date, taking no account of the increase in population or its altered distribution. No new assignment of seats had been made for two centuries. The old towns which long ago had been bidden by the king to send two representatives continued to do so, although some of them had now almost no inhabitants, while others had entirely disappeared. The great industrial centers which had recently sprung up, such as Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, were given no representatives at all. Many of the boroughs were owned by members of the House of Lords, so that these seats in the House of Commons were controlled by peers.

Since the civil war of the seventeenth century there have been, as was earlier pointed out, two great parties in Parlia-

ment: the Tories (later called Conservatives), the successors of the Cavaliers, who believed in the high prerogative of the king; and the Whigs (later Liberals), the successors of the Roundheads, who were eager to get the government into the hands of the elected representatives of the people. To the Whig, or parliamentary, party belonged many liberal-minded nobles, wealthy merchants, and business men; the Conservative party was made up of large landholders, peers, and the clergy.

The outcome of this situation has been *party government*: the party which happens to have the majority of votes in the House of Commons claims the right to manage the government of the country as long as it retains the majority. The leader of the party in power is accepted by the monarch as his prime minister, or premier. He and his associates form a cabinet which for the time being is the real ruler of the British Empire.

This device of cabinet government under a premier was put into operation in the time of George I, a German unable to speak English, who did not attend the meetings of his ministers. The little group of ministers constituting the cabinet got into the habit of holding its sessions and reaching its decisions without the presence of the king (see pages 186 f., above).

Since the House of Commons will not vote the money necessary to carry on the government after it has lost confidence in the cabinet, the cabinet has to resign as soon as it is convinced by the defeat of any of its measures that it no longer controls a majority of votes. The king then appoints the leader of the opposite party as premier and asks him to form a cabinet. It may happen, however, that the defeated cabinet believes that the country is on its side. In this case it will ask the king to dissolve Parliament and have a new election, with the hope that it will gain a majority in that way. So the cabinet regards itself as responsible not merely to Parliament but to the nation at large.

Since the members of the House of Commons are not elected for a definite term of years (though, according to a law passed in 1911, a new general election must be held *at least* every five years), that body may be dissolved at any time for the purpose of securing an expression of the popular will on any important issue. It is thus clear that the British government is more sensitive to changes in public opinion than are governments where the members of the legislatures are chosen for a definite term of years.[1]

The reform of the suffrage proved to be a slow and difficult matter. There was continued opposition on the part of the Conservatives, but in 1832 a reform bill was forced through Parliament in spite of the opposition of the House of Lords. This measure deprived the "rotten boroughs" (those with few or no inhabitants) of their representatives in Parliament and reduced the number of seats assigned to small districts; at the same time it increased the number of members for larger towns and created forty-three new boroughs. The property qualifications for voting were lowered so that a greater number of persons could vote, but all workingmen and farm hands were still excluded.

The reformers were dissatisfied with this bill and presented a *Charter*, or petition, to Parliament in 1839 which demanded that all men should be allowed to vote, that balloting should be secret, and that members of the House of Commons should be paid, so that poor men might be able to seek office. This petition, and a similar one presented in 1848, were disregarded.

[1] The English sovereign is still crowned with traditional pomp; coins and proclamations still assert that he rules "by the grace of God"; and laws purport to be enacted "by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Commons. . . ." But the monarch *reigns* rather than *rules*; he is still legally empowered to veto any bill passed by Parliament, but he never exercises this power. He has in reality only the right to be consulted, the right to encourage, and the right to warn. He cannot permanently oppose the wishes of the majority in Parliament, for should he venture to do so Parliament could always bring him to terms by cutting off the appropriations necessary to conduct his government.

In 1867 the Conservatives, realizing that something must be done, passed a bill with such low property restrictions that nearly twice as many men in England could vote as had been able to previously. In 1884 a further extension included farm hands and other poorer classes. In 1917 the vote was granted to all adult males and to about six million women who "occupied" land or houses or were the wives of "occupiers."

General Reforms in Great Britain

During the nineteenth century Great Britain made other notable advances in addition to the reform of Parliament and the extension of the suffrage. From 1833 on, Parliament began to pass laws to improve the wretched conditions in the factories. The working hours for women and children were reduced, and their employment in the mines was prohibited. During the long reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901) and her successors, labor laws were enacted from time to time to safeguard the worker, so that today Great Britain claims to do more than any other European country for the welfare of factory operatives.

England achieved religious toleration by abolishing in 1828 the old laws forbidding dissenters from holding office; and in the following year Catholics were put on the same footing as other subjects by the passage of the Emancipation Act, which admitted them to both Houses of Parliament and to almost all government offices. The English criminal law, which had been very harsh (two hundred and fifty offenses were regarded as punishable by death), was revised, and measures were passed providing for government inspection and for improved administration of the prisons. A free public-school system was established in 1870. Full liberty of speech was attained and full liberty of meeting for political discussion.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century Great Britain had continued to maintain her old shipping laws, which permitted

only British vessels to transport goods between different parts of the empire. She had also a system of tariffs on imported goods which were designed to protect British manufacturers and business men. A great difference of opinion arose as to whether these old restrictions helped or hindered the development of business. The Conservative party believed in protective duties; the Liberal party advocated free trade with all nations. After much discussion, in 1846 the so-called Corn Laws (which imposed duties on grain) were repealed, and between 1852 and 1867 all navigation laws were rescinded and protective duties were abolished. England became a free-trading country, and her policy resulted in a long period of business prosperity.

Except for a short period the Conservatives were in power for twenty years, from 1886 to 1906, and interest in general reform seemed to have died out in England. But in 1906 the Liberals, reënforced by a new labor party and by the Irish Nationalists, came into control of the House of Commons. A new period of reform then began which continued until it was interrupted by the outbreak of the World War in 1914.

The parties in power agreed that something must be done to relieve the poverty in which it was found that a great part of the population lived. Bills were introduced providing help for those injured in factories and pensions for aged workmen no longer able to earn a livelihood; for diminishing the evils of sweatshops, where people toiled for cruelly low wages; for securing work for the unemployed; for providing meals for poor school children; and for properly housing the less well-to-do and so getting rid of slums.

In 1908 Asquith became prime minister and David Lloyd George became chancellor of the exchequer, in charge of the nation's finances. In April, 1909, Lloyd George made his famous budget speech, in which he declared that if the reforms were to be carried out a great deal of money was necessary. More taxes must be collected, not from the poor but

from those best able to pay them. Everyone should make his contribution according to his ability. So he advocated that the income tax should be increased on incomes above $25,000 and should be lighter on earned than on unearned incomes; that those holding land in the neighborhood of cities with a view to a rise in value and those who happened to have mineral deposits under their property should share their profit with the government; that automobiles, and gasoline for their use, should pay a heavier tax; lastly, that the tax on large inheritances, already large, should be increased. In closing he said:

I am told that no chancellor of the exchequer has ever been called on to impose such heavy taxes in a time of peace. This is a war budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness. I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have advanced a great step towards that good time when poverty and wretchedness and human degradation, which always follow in its camp, will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests.

The budget advocated by Lloyd George passed the House of Commons but was rejected by the indignant House of Lords. Parliament was dissolved and a new election held to show that the voters were on the side of the ministry. Then the Lords yielded; but the Liberals had been so exasperated at their opposition that, by the Parliament Act of 1911, they took away the power of the Lords to interfere effectively in future with the will of the people as expressed in the elections.[1]

[1] According to the terms of this important act, any bill relating to raising taxes or making appropriations which the House of Commons passes and sends up to the House of Lords, at least one month before the close of a session, may become a law even if the House of Lords fails to ratify it. Other bills passed by the Commons at *three* successive sessions and rejected by the Lords may also be presented to the king for his signature and become laws in spite of their rejection by the Upper House. In this way control of the financial policy of the government is practically taken out of the hands of the House of Lords, and in the case of all other laws the House of Commons is able, by a little patience and by waiting a couple of years, to do what it pleases without regard to the sentiments of the peers.

The Irish Question

One of the most acute problems with which Great Britain has had to deal has been Ireland. For centuries most of the Irish have hated the English, regarding them as their conquerors and as responsible for the backwardness of the country and the poverty of the people. Their grievance goes back as far as the days of Henry II, who, in 1172, established his overlordship in Ireland and encouraged the English to settle around Dublin. From that date the English have from time to time seized the lands of the Irish, sometimes crowding out the owners and settling on the estates themselves, or, as absentee landlords, merely enjoying the revenue which their agents sent to them in England. The Tudors adopted a policy of Anglicizing the island which was highly exasperating to the Irish. The famous "Poynings's Act" of 1494 was one of the most outstanding affronts, for it gave the English Parliament the power to veto acts of the Irish parliament, and amounted to English control of the government. Moreover, Henry VIII established the Anglican Church as the official form of religion. This was especially distasteful to the Irish, since the larger part of the population was, and has remained to this day, loyal to the Roman Catholic Church. The grievances of the Irish have been many and long-standing.

The aggressions on the part of the English were the cause of constant rebellions. A revolt in the province of Ulster furnished an excellent opportunity for the English government to confiscate a large area in the north of Ireland, and these estates were settled chiefly by Scotch colonists who were Protestants —the so-called Scotch-Irish. By planting this colony in Ireland (1608) James I hoped to raise up future generations which would be more loyal to the crown. Further confiscations of property and frightful massacres followed revolts in the times of Cromwell and William III. Driven from their homes, the Irish sank into poverty or sought their fortune in other

countries. The high export duties which the English placed on cattle and wool prevented the Irish from developing these industries.

In addition to the practical difficulties of earning a livelihood, a large part of the population suffered from the severe laws discriminating against Roman Catholics. Catholics could not buy or sell land to Protestants nor lease from them for a longer period than thirty-one years; they could neither vote nor hold office under the government; they were forbidden to enter various professions; a special tax was laid on those who engaged in certain industries and provision was made against their business growing too large; their children were compelled to be educated by Protestants; monks were not tolerated, and the number of priests was fixed by law. Fortunately these rigorous laws were not always carried out. Although Protestants constituted hardly more than one tenth of the population, Catholics were required to pay regular tithes to the Established Church from their meager incomes. The collection of this tax often resulted in riots and disorder. Discontent finally became so widespread that Parliament was compelled to repeal most of the anti-Catholic laws and permit Catholics to vote if they possessed the necessary property qualifications. Poynings's Act was also repealed, in 1782, and the Irish parliament became once more independent of London.

This situation did not last long, however, for a revolt in 1798 led to the abolition of the Irish parliament. By the Act of Union (1801) Ireland was given instead representation in the British Parliament through twenty-eight peers in the House of Lords and one hundred representatives in the House of Commons. During the nineteenth century the Irish fought for the repeal of all laws which still discriminated against Catholics, for a revision of the system of land tenure, and for the restoration of self-government.

The first reform to be secured was the abolition of the remaining laws against Catholics. After the Catholic Emanci-

pation Act of 1829, Catholics were admitted as members of Parliament. After a struggle lasting forty years the Protestant Church in Ireland was disestablished as the national church, and Catholics were no longer compelled to contribute toward its support. The satisfactory settlement of the land question was a more difficult matter. It was, however, a very vital problem, since most of the population were dependent on their farms for a living. The absentee landlords or their agents refused to keep the farms in proper condition, although they sought every excuse for raising the rent of the poor tenant. When the peasant himself made any improvement, the agent promptly demanded a higher rent for the improved property; and if the tenant could not pay the advanced price, he was evicted and his improvements were confiscated. Thousands of families were driven from their lands, and those who held on to their farms had no incentive to repair the property as it gradually fell to ruin. The failure in 1847 of the potato crop, on which the peasants depended for food, caused the death of many thousands of persons. It was during this period of famine that over a million Irishmen emigrated to America, forming the beginning of the large Irish population in the United States. The peasants took revenge on their landlords for their heartless treatment by various acts of violence.

There were many thoughtful people in England who felt that the Irish situation was intolerable. In 1881 Gladstone, the great leader of the Liberal party, succeeded in getting a land act passed which provided for the appointment of a land commission, to act between landlord and tenant for the purpose of seeing that the peasants received fair consideration. The good effects of this bill were immediately evident. The Conservative party went even farther in passing the land laws of 1891 and 1903, which provided for the gradual transfer of the land from the owners to the tenants. To assist the Irish in buying their farms the government advanced a large sum of money in loans, which were to be repaid in installments.

The Conservatives hoped by these measures so to improve conditions in Ireland as to put an end to the agitation for "home rule," which had been carried on ever since the Irish were deprived of their parliament. Secret societies had been formed which resorted even to terrorism to force the English to restore to them their independent government. The violence of these agitators led the moderates in 1870 to form a political party, called the Irish Nationalists, which sought to secure home rule through constitutional methods by a campaign in Parliament. Gladstone, who had been won over to the Irish cause, introduced a home rule bill in Parliament in 1886, providing for a separate parliament in Dublin. The bill was opposed by the Conservatives, who viewed it as threatening the unity of the empire. It was defeated, as was also a later bill introduced in 1893.

While the land laws had improved the condition of the Irish farmers and had enabled them to regain possession of some of the land, these reforms had not, as the Conservative party hoped, put an end to the determination of the Irish to rule themselves. When a few years later the financial provisions of the Land Act broke down and the purchase of land was brought to a standstill, the agitation for home rule was renewed with greater earnestness than ever. Just at this time the parliamentary elections (1910) showed the Conservative and Liberal parties to be almost evenly matched in strength, and the Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons found themselves holding the balance of power. The Liberals immediately sought their support by reviving and sponsoring the home rule issue. This seeming victory for the Irish cause was not received in Ireland itself as might have been expected. The Nationalists, who fell in with the plan of the Liberals, found that they did not by any means represent the united sentiments of their country. They were attacked by members of their own party, by Ulster, and by men of a new party who called themselves Sinn Fein ("We Ourselves"). The members of

this group were ardent patriots, eager to revive the Gaelic language and culture and bitterly opposed to any connection with their ancient enemy, England. They began to work for complete independence and the establishment of an Irish republic. From this time on the violent differences in Ireland itself among those who wished to remain a part of the empire, those who wished to have home rule within the empire, and those who wished an independent republic, were as responsible for the difficulty in settling the Irish question as the attitude of the English had formerly been.

For the following ten years Ireland found itself in a condition of violence and confusion bordering upon downright civil war. Ulster refused to listen to any suggestions of uniting with the south of Ireland, and collected arms to resist by force any attempt to make her do so. Her protest was based upon the long-standing animosity between Protestants and Catholics and the fear that separation from Great Britain would endanger her business prosperity. The republican party in the other parts of Ireland continued to grow in strength and audacity, and during the World War entered into negotiations with Germany. This was deemed treasonable by the British government, and a number of Sinn Fein conspirators were executed in 1916. This event tended to strengthen the republican party through sympathy for the Irish "martyrs." In January, 1919, the independence of Ireland was proclaimed, and an Irish legislative body, the Dail Eireann, was created. It chose as president of the new republic Eamon de Valera, a college professor. The new government was not recognized by Great Britain, and there followed two years of assassinations, imprisonments, executions, and vicious fighting between the Irish troops and the so-called "Black and Tans" sent over by the British to maintain order. For a time all attempts to reëstablish peace seemed fruitless.

At length a conference was arranged by Lloyd George with the more moderate Irish republicans, which met in London and

worked out a form of Irish freedom. Article I of the treaty concluded in December, 1921, reads:

> Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire, as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of Ireland, and an executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

The new government was set up at Dublin, and the Irish Free State was admitted to the League of Nations.

Ulster refused to join with the south and was permitted to have its own "Government of Northern Ireland." De Valera and the more extreme republicans continued to fight for the absolute and complete independence of Ireland, not only in the matter of its domestic affairs but in all military and international matters. But it is hard to convince the British that it would be safe to have a power to the west which might make common cause with their enemies should war come. Ireland at last has home rule, but she is neither unified nor completely independent.

The British Empire: Canada, Australia, and New Zealand

The kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State form but a very small part of the vast empire now under British dominion. Scattered throughout Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and Oceania, the imperial territory covers nearly one fourth of the inhabited portions of the earth, and one quarter of the peoples of the world owe allegiance to the British sovereign. This great commonwealth of nations, composed of peoples of diverse race and language and of every degree of civilization from the savage to the most highly cultivated gentleman, has been built up by occupation,

conquest, or agreement, since the over-sea discoveries of the seventeenth century, with the assistance of an unequaled navy and an unequaled fleet of merchant vessels. To her supremacy on the sea Britain owes the unrivaled extent of her empire. Her widely distributed realms fall into three categories: (1) the self-governing dominions—Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Irish Free State —which enjoy complete independence within the empire; (2) India; (3) all the rest of the British colonies, dependencies, and mandates, some of which exercise a measure of self-government, whereas others are entirely administered by the crown and are known as Crown Colonies. We turn first to the self-governing dominions, the oldest of which is Canada.

When the British took Canada from the French in 1760, there were but a quarter of a million inhabitants of English extraction. On the eve of the American Revolution Parliament passed the Quebec Act (1774). In an age of intolerance it recognized the Catholic faith and left the French inhabitants their laws and customs. Many loyalists (called Tories) fled to Canada during the American Revolution and peopled what are now called the Maritime Provinces and Ontario. This influx of English-speaking people led to the creation of two provinces, Ontario and Quebec, the one inhabited by English settlers, the other by the older French colonists. Both supported the mother country in the War of 1812. When, a quarter of a century later, discontent and even rebellion developed, the British government sent over the wise Lord Durham to investigate the sources of trouble. His report made in 1840, called the Magna Charta of the Colonies, strongly advocated self-government for the British colonies. It marks a turning point in the policy of Great Britain toward her possessions beyond the sea. Thereafter all colonies were accorded the widest liberty that could be reconciled with the maintenance of the empire. The two provinces were united under one government responsible to the people.

This was an important step in the direction of the Canadian federation, which was organized a few years later. By the British North America Act of 1867, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were united into the Dominion of Canada, with the provision that the remaining provinces and territories might be admitted later. This federation was given a constitution, providing for a governor-general representing the sovereign of England; a Senate, the members of which are appointed for life by the governor-general; and a House of Commons, which is the real governing body, elected by popular vote. The new plan of federation went into effect on July 1, 1867, a day which is celebrated as the Canadian national holiday, like the Fourth of July in the United States.

The Dominion of Canada has spread westward and northward. The rights of the old Hudson's Bay Company were purchased in 1869. The provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia were admitted to the union in 1870–1871. In 1905 the vast regions of Alberta and Saskatchewan were added. Railroads were built and projected, and the population, which was little over half a million in 1820, had in a century increased to eight million. The Canadians have shown little tendency to join the great republic to the south of them and still look to Great Britain as their chief economic ally. Canada forms a distinct nation in spite of her membership in the British Empire.[1]

Australia and Tasmania are together somewhat larger than the United States. Before the coming of the English, late in the eighteenth century, they were inhabited by a scanty population of aborigines in a low state of civilization. Captain Cook, a distinguished navigator, had taken possession of this scarcely known continent in 1770 in the name of the British sovereign. For a time England used this distant land as a place to which she deported lawbreakers. The discovery of gold in 1851 brought many settlers and a rapid development of towns and

[1] Newfoundland and Labrador together form a self-governing colony and are not a part of the Dominion of Canada.

plantations. The several colonies secured self-government under the general control of the British crown.

It was natural that in time the people of these colonies, speaking the same language and having the same institutions, should seek a closer union. The question of a federation was long discussed; and at last, in 1891, a general convention composed of delegates from all the states drafted a federal constitution, which was submitted to the people for their ratification. In 1900 the British Parliament passed an act founding the Commonwealth of Australia on the basis of this draft. The six states—New South Wales, Tasmania, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Western Australia—are now formed into a union similar to that of the United States. The king is represented by a governor-general; the federal parliament is composed of two Houses: a Senate, consisting of six senators from each state, and a House of Representatives, chosen in the same way as in the United States.

To the southeast of Australia, twelve hundred miles away, lie the islands of New Zealand, to which English pioneers began to go in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1840 the English concluded a treaty with the native Maoris, by which the latter were assigned a definite reservation of lands on condition that they would recognize Queen Victoria as their sovereign. Twenty-five years later New Zealand became a separate colony, with the seat of government at Wellington.

During the closing decade of the nineteenth century New Zealand became famous for its experiments in social reform. Organized labor rose to great power in politics and carried through a number of measures conceived in the interest of workingmen. Special courts were established to settle disputes between employers and their workmen.

The colony of Victoria vied with New Zealand in respect to social reform. Public boards composed of employers and workmen were established for the purpose of fixing the minimum wages and standards of work, so that these matters

were no longer arranged by private bargaining between individuals. The system of secret voting which originated in Australia—the so-called "Australian ballot"—is a reform which has already spread beyond Australasia and is in use both in England and in the United States.

South Africa

Cape Colony, a Dutch settlement in South Africa, was turned over to Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna. The Dutch farmers (Boers, as they are commonly called) were an independent class, strongly attached to their customs (including slavery), and were greatly incensed by the regulations introduced by British officials. The more enterprising Boers moved northward and eastward into what later was called Natal and Transvaal. They fought the warlike savages and took possession of vast areas of farming and grazing land. The British pressed after, but concluded that it was not worth while to try to control the Dutch beyond the Vaal River, so they guaranteed them the right to manage their own affairs without interference (1852). Two years later a region south of the Vaal, the Orange Free State, was also recognized as a practically independent colony of Boers.

In 1885 the discovery of gold in Transvaal attracted thousands of miners, speculators, and adventurers, who soon outnumbered the Boers. These foreign newcomers (Uitlanders) were largely British. They wished to run the government in their own interests and planned an uprising to overturn the constitution. Transvaal, under its president, Paul Kruger, formed an alliance with the Orange Free State, collected arms and supplies, and prepared to defend itself against British encroachments.

The British now began to claim that the Boers would not be satisfied until they had control of all the British possessions in South Africa. The Boers, with more reason, as it

seemed to the rest of the world, declared that Great Britain was only trying to find an excuse for annexing the two republics which the Dutch farmers had built up in the wilderness after a long fight with the native savages. Finally, in 1899, the weak Transvaal and the Orange Free State boldly declared war on Great Britain. The Boers made a brave fight, and the British managed the war badly. Many Englishmen thought it a shame to be fighting Paul Kruger and his fellow farmers; but although the general sentiment throughout the world was heartily in favor of the Boers, none of the foreign powers intervened. The British, after some smarting defeats, soon won the war and annexed the two Boer republics.

With her victory over the brave farmers Great Britain reversed her former policy of harassing them and extended to them all the freedom enjoyed by her other colonies. In 1910 a Union of South Africa was organized on the model of the Canadian and Australian federations.

When war broke out between Great Britain and Germany in 1914, the Germans expected all the Boers to rise against Great Britain, but they were disappointed. There was only a small revolt, which was easily suppressed. The prime minister of the Union of South Africa, General Botha, who had been the best Boer general in the war against Great Britain fifteen years before, not only frustrated the uprising of his old comrades but conquered German Southwest Africa for the British Empire. In addition, South African troops invaded German East Africa and fought on the main battle line in France. General Smuts, another Boer commander, was prominent in the peace conference and showed great wisdom in his recommendations. The British look with much natural pride upon this tribute to their insight in granting freedom and self-government to the Boers.[1]

[1] There are about six million people in the Union of South Africa, and a large portion of these are colored. The white population, including both those of English and those of Dutch descent, do not equal in number the inhabitants of Philadelphia.

In addition to the Union of South Africa, Great Britain has three enormous provinces in Africa occupied almost entirely by negroes. Lying to the north is the Bechuanaland protectorate, inhabited by peaceful native tribes. Beyond Bechuanaland and the Transvaal is Rhodesia, which was acquired through the British South Africa Company by two annexations in 1888 and 1898 and, with subsequent additions, brought under the protection of the British government. On the east coast, extending inland to the great lakes at the source of the Nile, lies the valuable grazing land of British East Africa. It is of especial importance as controlling the southern approach to the Sudan and Egypt.

In addition to these colonies in Africa, British Somaliland was secured on the strait of Bab el Mandeb in 1884 in connection with the establishment of the British power in Egypt. Along the west coast Great Britain has five centers, Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Lagos, and Nigeria, the beginnings of which date back to the times of Queen Elizabeth, when the English were ravaging the coast for slaves to carry to the New World. The English now, however, are making atonement for the past by helping the natives to become civilized, sending physicians to fight tropical diseases, and governing well.

Several railways have been built in South Africa, one running through the whole country from Cape Town to the northern border of Rhodesia. There was once much talk of an "all-British line from the Cape to Cairo" across Africa, but the extension of the Belgian Congo Free State on the northwest and especially of German East Africa on the northeast, blocked this plan. The hope was revived, however, by the victory over the Germans during the World War. At the close of the conflict German East Africa was handed over to Great Britain under the so-called "mandatory system," and German Southwest Africa was transferred to the Union of South Africa.

British India

India occupies a unique position in the British Empire. Four fifths of the colonial subjects of the king of Great Britain live in this peninsula, and are alien in race, language, and tradition to the mother country. The East India Company, a purely business organization, secured the original foothold for the English in India, and as early as 1686 declared its intention to "establish such a policy of civil and military power and create and secure such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come." In Clive's time the Company succeeded in supplanting the French and extending its control into the central portion of the peninsula and partially conquering Bengal. The Company steadily increased in wealth and power, and, as its charter permitted, maintained itself much like an aggressive state, with its host of officials and its troops, which it did not hesitate to employ in its constant conflicts with native rulers.[1]

The scandalous stories which reached London of the graft and the despotic behavior of its officials led Parliament in 1784 to assume the control of political matters and leave only the business interests in the hands of the Company. British control was extended on all sorts of pretenses and encouraged by the constant rivalry of the native princes. During the nineteenth century almost all northern India and Burma were brought into the power of the British.

Great Britain's conquests naturally caused great bitterness among the native princes who lost their thrones and among the Mohammedans, who hated the Christians. In 1857 a terrible revolt of the Indian troops, known as sepoys, serving under British officers took place. The sepoys mutinied at Delhi and massacred the English inhabitants of the city; the inhabitants of Lucknow rose against the foreigners; and at Cawnpore a

[1] See pages 82 ff., above.

thousand British men, women, and children were cruelly massacred. Many of the sepoys remained loyal, however, and the British armies were able to put down the mutiny, with some terrible reprisals.

After the suppression of the sepoy rebellion the Parliament of Great Britain revolutionized the government of India. The administration of the peninsula was finally taken entirely out of the hands of the East India Company, which had directed it for more than two hundred and fifty years. It was vested in the British sovereign (1858), to be exercised under parliamentary control. On January 1, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed empress of India amid an illustrious gathering of Indian princes and British officials. King George V, as emperor of India, now rules over more than three hundred millions of Indian subjects inhabiting a domain embracing about eighteen hundred thousand square miles. The Secretary of State for India is responsible for Indian affairs; the actual administration in India is headed by a viceroy appointed by the British government.

The construction of railway lines has been pushed forward with great rapidity, so that the vast interior might be quickly reached by troops and an outlet opened for its crops of cotton, rice, wheat, indigo, and tobacco. Cotton mills are rising by the tombs of ancient kings, cities are increasing rapidly in population, and the foreign trade by sea has multiplied twentyfold in the past seventy years. About eight hundred newspapers, printed in twenty-two languages, including Burmese, Sanskrit, and Persian, are published; educational institutions have been provided for nearly five million students.

During the World War the Indian princes and troops came to the aid of Great Britain, but at the same time there were strong movements for the independence of India, or at least for self-government. Many Indian agitators were arrested and imprisoned or executed; mass meetings were broken up or fired upon by British forces.

In December, 1919, Parliament passed the Government of India Act, which, according to the Secretary of State, although it did not pretend to give the Indians a permanent constitution, provided a beginning in the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India. It put into the hands of the people certain matters of government and reserved to the British other matters, to be given over as the people were prepared to assume responsibility. While the moderates accepted the new constitution, sometimes with reluctance, the extreme nationalists, under the leadership of M. K. Gandhi, denounced it as utterly inadequate and insisted upon India's right to immediate self-government.

The Indians were thus divided among themselves. Almost all the native princes favored British rule, but millions of the people were faithful to their adored Gandhi, whom they regarded as a "holy" man, in his policy of "non-coöperation." This program of passive resistance included the boycott of British goods and British schools and courts and the refusal to accept any office or position, civil or military, under the British government. The carrying out of this policy, together with famine and the high cost of food, resulted in rebellions and general disorder throughout the country. These were accompanied by increasing severity on the part of the law for cases of sedition.

In March, 1922, Gandhi was arrested and imprisoned for six years, but he was released in two years on account of ill health. Even before his arrest a group of nationalists differed from Gandhi in their belief that in accepting positions in the legislative bodies Indians would have greater opportunities of making their demands felt. This Swaraj (self-rule) party in 1924 was indorsed by Gandhi, who admitted that his methods had not been successful and recommended that non-coöperation be given up except for the refusal to buy foreign cloth. Even the Liberal party, which had been more favorable to British policy than had the moderate nationalists, has now demanded the status of a dominion for India.

CHAPTER XXXIV

WORLD TRADE AND THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

Modern Means of Communication

As a result of the Industrial Revolution, Europe developed her industries so rapidly that her factories produced much more than Europeans could use, so new markets were constantly sought in distant parts of the world. The trade with the Far East, which, as we have seen, led to the discovery of America, had grown in the nineteenth century to an enormous extent, scattering the wares of England, Germany, France, and Italy through China and India and the islands of the Pacific. The eagerness to secure world trade is one of the great facts of modern history, for it led the European nations to plant new colonies and to try to monopolize markets in Asia and Africa and wherever else they could. This business rivalry fostered jealousies and conflicts between the European states and was one of the causes of the World War.

The prodigious expansion of commerce was made possible by the discovery that steam could be used to carry goods cheaply and speedily to all parts of the earth. Steamships and railways have made the world one great market place.

The problem of using steam to propel ships had long occupied inventors, but the honor of making the steamship a success commercially belongs to Robert Fulton. In the spring of 1807 he launched his *Clermont* at New York, and in the autumn of that year it made its first trip to Albany. Transoceanic steam navigation began in 1819 with the voyage of the steamer *Savannah* from Savannah to Liverpool, which took twenty-five days, sails being used to help the engine. The *Great Western*, which startled the world in 1838 by steaming

from Bristol to New York in fifteen days and ten hours, was a ship of 1378 tons, 212 feet long, with a daily consumption of 36 tons of coal.[1] A commercial map of the world today shows that the globe is crossed in every direction by definite routes which are followed by innumerable freight and passenger steamers plying regularly from one port to another, and few of all these thousands of ships are as small as the famous *Great Western.*

The East and the West have been brought much nearer together by the piercing of the Isthmus of Suez, which formerly barred the way from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean. This enterprise was carried out under the direction of the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps. After ten years of work the canal was opened to traffic in November, 1869.

The construction of a canal through the Isthmus of Panama was undertaken later, in 1881, by a French company organized by De Lesseps; but the company failed, and in 1902 the Congress of the United States authorized the president to purchase for forty million dollars the property in which the French investors had sunk so much money. Arrangements with the republic of Colombia for the construction of the canal by the United States having come to naught, the state of Panama, through which the line of the proposed canal passed, seceded from Colombia in 1903, and its independence was immediately recognized by President Roosevelt. A treaty in regard to the Canal Zone was then duly concluded with the new republic, and after some delays the work of the French company was resumed by the United States and practically completed in 1915.

Just as the huge modern steamship has taken the place of the schooner for the rapid trade of the world, so, on land, the

[1] Compare this with the *Lusitania*, which had a tonnage of 32,500 tons, engines of 68,000 horse power, was 785 feet long, and carried a supply of over 5000 tons of coal for its journey across the Atlantic, which lasted less than five days. Later vessels have been constructed of over 50,000 tons.

merchandise which used to be dragged by means of horses and oxen or carried in slow canal boats is being transported in long trains of capacious cars, each of which holds as much as fifteen or twenty large wagons. The story of the locomotive, like that of the spinning machine or the steam engine, is the history of many experiments and their final combination by a successful inventor, George Stephenson.

In 1814 Stephenson built a small locomotive, which was used at the mines; and in 1825, with the authorization of Parliament, he opened between Stockton and Darlington, in the northern part of England, a line for the conveyance of passengers and freight. A road between Liverpool and Manchester was formally opened in 1830. The locomotive used weighed about seven tons and ran at an average speed of thirteen miles an hour—a small affair when compared with the giant locomotive of our day, weighing a hundred tons and running fifty miles an hour. Within fifteen years trains were running regularly between Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and London, and at the close of the century Great Britain had twenty-two thousand miles of railway carrying over a billion passengers annually.

The first railway in France was opened in 1828, and the first in Germany in 1835. Europe is now bound together by a network of over two hundred thousand miles of railway, and railway construction before the World War was advancing rapidly in Africa and Asia, preparing cheap transportation for the products of Western mills and mines. As we shall see, the Trans-Siberian road connected Europe overland with the Pacific, and Russia also pushed lines southward toward Persia and Afghanistan. British India has over thirty-five thousand miles of railway; and the importance of the new roads in China and Turkey became so great as to involve rival European nations, each of which wished to control them.

Quite as essential to the world market as railway and steamship lines are the easy and inexpensive means of communica-

tion afforded by the post, the telephone, the telegraph, and the cable. The English "penny post" is now so commonplace as no longer to excite wonder, but to men of Frederick the Great's time it would have seemed impossible. In England, until 1839, the postage on an ordinary letter was a shilling for a short distance. In that year a reform measure long advocated by Rowland Hill was passed, establishing a uniform penny post throughout Great Britain. Other European countries followed the example of Great Britain in reducing postage, and before long a letter could be sent almost anywhere in the world for five cents.

Still more wonderful is the development of the telegraph system. Cables have been laid under the ocean, connecting all countries. Distant and obscure places in Africa and Asia have been brought into close touch with one another and with Europe. China now has lines connecting all the important cities of the republic and affording direct overland communication between Peking and Paris. In October, 1907, Marconi established regular communication across the Atlantic by means of the wireless system of telegraphy discovered some years before; and now the radio permits a person in South Africa to listen to an address or a concert in New York.

Modern Imperialism

The Industrial Revolution, which enabled Europe to produce far more goods than it could sell in its own markets, and the rapid transportation which permitted producers to distribute their commodities over the whole surface of the globe, combined, as we have seen, to produce a keen competition for foreign markets. The European nations secured the control of practically all the territory occupied by less progressive peoples in Africa and Asia and introduced Western ideas of business into China and Japan, where steamships now ply the navigable rivers, and railroads are being rapidly built.

The process of colonization and of Westernizing the Oriental peoples was further hastened by European and American capitalists investing in railroads, mines, and oil wells in backward countries. At the opening of the twentieth century Great Britain alone had about ten billion dollars invested abroad; one fifth of the Russian industrial enterprises were financed by foreigners, who were also to a considerable extent constructing the railroads in China. The Germans supplied the money for large banking concerns in Brazil, Buenos Aires, and Valparaiso, which in turn stimulated industry and the construction of railways in South America.

These two great forces—manufacturers seeking markets for their goods and men of wealth seeking investment—affected the foreign and commercial relations of every important European country. They explain why the great manufacturing nations embarked on a policy of so-called *imperialism*, which means the business of adding distant territories for the purpose of controlling their products, getting the trade with the natives, and investing money in the development of natural resources. Sometimes this imperialism took the form of outright annexation; again, it assumed the form of a "protectorate," which proclaimed the intention of taking advantage of a country's resources without undertaking the full responsibility of governing it. Sometimes imperialism went no farther than the securing of concessions or privileges in undeveloped countries, such as foreigners obtained in China or citizens of the United States in Mexico.

The way for imperialism was smoothed by the missionaries. No sooner was a new country brought to the attention of Europeans than missionaries flocked thither along with the traders and soldiers.

Missionaries not only have spread the knowledge of the Christian religion but have carried with them modern scientific ideas and modern inventions. They have reduced to writing the languages of peoples previously ignorant of the existence

of an alphabet. Their physicians have introduced scientific methods of treating the sick, and their schools have given an education to millions who without them would have been left in complete barbarism. Finally, they have encouraged thousands of Japanese, Chinese, and representatives of other peoples to visit Europe and America and thus prepare themselves to become apostles of Western ideas among their fellows. The missionaries have also created a demand for Western goods and opened the way for trade.

Europe and the Far East

The relations of Europe to China extend back into ancient times. Some of the Roman emperors, including Marcus Aurelius, sent embassies to the Chinese monarchs, and in the Middle Ages some missionaries labored to introduce Christianity into China. However, it was not until after the opening of the water route around the Cape of Good Hope that European trade with China became important. Early in the sixteenth century Portuguese merchants appeared in Chinese harbors offering Western merchandise in exchange for tea and silks. In 1557 the Portuguese rented a bit of land at Macao, off Canton—a post which they hold today.

However, the Chinese did not welcome foreign interference. Their officials regarded the European merchants as barbarians. Nevertheless Dutch and English merchants flocked to Canton, the sole port at which the Chinese emperor permitted regular commerce with foreign countries.

When in 1839 the Chinese government tried to put a stop to the opium trade, which was carried on with great profit by English merchants, and informed the British government that the traffic would have to be given up, the so-called Opium War broke out.

The British, of course, with their modern means of warfare, were speedily victorious, and the Chinese were forced to agree,

in the Treaty of Nanking, to pay a heavy indemnity; to cede to the British the island of Hongkong, which lies at the mouth of the Canton River; and to open to foreign commerce four ports, including Shanghai, on the same terms as those that held for Canton. The United States, taking advantage of this war, secured similar commercial privileges in 1844.

From the Opium War until recently China has been troubled with foreign invasions. Napoleon III, supported by the British, waged war on China in 1858 and compelled the Chinese government to open new ports to European trade, including Tientsin, which was dangerously near the capital, Peking. But it was not only the distant Europeans who longed to get control of Chinese trade; there was a neighboring business rival, Japan.

To the northeast of China lies a long group of islands which, if they lay off the eastern coast of North America, would extend from Maine to Georgia. This archipelago, comprising four main islands and some four thousand smaller ones, is the center of the Japanese empire. Before the middle of the nineteenth century Japan was still almost completely isolated from the rest of the world; but now, through a series of extraordinary events, she has become one of the conspicuous members of the family of nations. Her people, who are somewhat more numerous than the inhabitants of the British Isles, resemble the Chinese in appearance and owe to China the beginnings of their culture and their art.

During the sixteenth century Dutch and English traders carried on some business in Japan, but they, as well as the missionaries, became disliked and were all driven out. For nearly two centuries Japan cut herself off almost entirely from the outer world. In 1853 Commodore Perry landed in Yokohama and asked that United States ships be permitted to dispose of their cargoes at one or two ports at least. This was allowed, and soon other powers got the right to trade with Japan. The Japanese decided that they must acquaint them-

selves with European science and inventions if they hoped to protect themselves against European encroachments. In 1871 feudalism was abolished, serfdom was done away with, and the army and navy were rapidly remodeled on a European pattern. In 1889 a constitution was established providing for a parliament. Factories were built, several thousand miles of railroad were constructed, and Japan was pretty thoroughly modernized within a generation.

Japan, having become a manufacturing country, wished to extend her trade and was specially anxious to get control of the neighboring peninsula of Korea, which was claimed by China. The Japanese easily defeated the Chinese in a short war (1894–1895). Korea was declared independent (which practically meant opening it up to Japan). Russia, however, intervened to discourage the Japanese from getting a foothold on the mainland by inducing China to permit her to build a railroad across Manchuria and to lease Port Arthur to her. This she fortified and connected by rail with the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

Meanwhile the Germans found an excuse for strengthening themselves in the same region. A German missionary having been murdered in the province of Shantung, which lies opposite Korea, a German squadron appeared in Kiaochow Bay, in November, 1897, landed a force of marines, and raised the German flag. As a compensation for the murder of the missionary Germany demanded a long lease of the town of Kiaochow on the Shantung peninsula, with the right to build railways in the region and to work mines. Upon acquiring Kiaochow the Germans built harbors and constructed forts, military barracks, and machine shops; in short, a German town sprang up on the Chinese coast, which, with its defenses, was designed to form a base for further extension of Germany's sphere of influence.

Great Britain, learning of the negotiations, sent a fleet northward from Hongkong to the Gulf of Chihli (or Pechili) and

forced China to lease to her Weihaiwei, just between the recent acquisitions of Germany and of Russia.

Great Britain, moreover, believed it to be for her interest to be on good terms with Japan; and in 1902 an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded between the two powers, binding each to assist the other in case a third party joined in a conflict in which either was involved. For example, Great Britain, under the provisions, would have to aid Japan in a war with Russia, should France or Germany intervene on Russia's side.

Western Influences in China

The foreigners were by no means content with establishing trading posts in China; they longed to develop the neglected natural resources of the empire, to open up communication by railroads and steamships, and to Westernize the Orientals, in order that business might be carried on more easily with them and new opportunities be found for making money for Western investors.

The Chinese at first opposed the building of railroads, but several thousand miles of track were laid and many other lines planned. Telegraphs and post offices of the European type were established. In 1898, after the war with Japan, China began to remodel her army and to send her students to study in foreign universities. These changes aroused the violent opposition of a party known as the "Boxers," who hated the missionaries and business men from the West. They declared that the new ideas would ruin their country and that the European powers would tear China to pieces if given a chance.

In June, 1900, the Boxers killed the German ambassador, besieged the Europeans in Peking, and appeared to be on the point of massacring them all. The foreign powers—Japan, Russia, Great Britain, the United States, France, and Germany —immediately collected a joint army which fought its way from the coast to Peking and brought relief to their imperiled

fellow countrymen in the Chinese capital. The European troops looted the palace of the Chinese emperor, and China was forced to pay an indemnity of three hundred and twenty millions of dollars and to pledge itself to suppress the Boxers and every society that was opposed to the presence of foreigners.

After the trouble in Peking was over, the Chinese government took up the reforms once more, and in 1906 a proclamation was issued promising that a Chinese parliament should be established and the old system of absolute rule abandoned forever.

Meanwhile the Boxer rising had scarcely been put down when it became apparent that Japan and Russia were drifting into war. Russia refused to evacuate Manchuria, a province of China, and insisted on getting a hold in Korea, even sending Cossacks to build forts there. Japan declared that Russia had repeatedly promised to withdraw her troops from Manchuria and had agreed that Korea should be independent. As the Tsar's government gave the Japanese no satisfaction, they boldly went to war with Russia in February, 1904.

Japan was well prepared for war and was, moreover, within easy reach of the field of conflict. The Russian government, on the contrary, was corrupt and inefficient and was already engaged in a terrible struggle with the Russian people.[1] The eastern boundary of European Russia lay three thousand miles from Port Arthur, and the only means of communication was the single line of lightly constructed railroad that stretched across Siberia to the Pacific.

The Japanese laid siege to Port Arthur, and for months the world watched in suspense the deadly attacks which the Japanese made upon the Russian fortress. On January 1, 1905, after a siege of seven months, Port Arthur surrendered.

Russia, meanwhile, dispatched its Baltic squadron to the Orient. It arrived, May, 1905, in the straits of Korea, where Admiral Togo was waiting for it. The Tsar's fleet was prac-

[1] See the following chapter.

tically annihilated in a few hours, with terrible loss of life, whereas the Japanese came out of the conflict almost unscathed.

Lest the war should drag on indefinitely, President Roosevelt, acting under the provisions of the Hague Convention, took measures which brought about a peace. The conference between the representatives of Japan and Russia was held at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and on September 5, 1905, the Treaty of Portsmouth was signed. This recognized the Japanese influence as paramount in Korea, which, however, was to remain independent.[1] Both the Japanese and the Russians were to evacuate Manchuria; the Japanese were, nevertheless, given those rights in the Liaotung peninsula and Port Arthur which Russia had formerly enjoyed.

Thus this great conflict, produced by the rivalry of the European powers in the East, was brought to an end, but the resources of China and the fact that it had not yet organized a strong army or navy encouraged foreign powers to continue their interference in Chinese affairs. Nevertheless China was changing rapidly, as Japan formerly had changed. Students returning home from Western countries determined to overthrow the Manchu (or Manchurian) dynasty, which had ruled for two hundred and sixty-seven years, and their corrupt officials. After a short struggle they forced the court on February 12, 1912, to declare the abdication of the boy emperor then on the throne and the creation of a republic.

The president of the new republic, Yuan Shih-kai, although he posed as a revolutionist, really believed that a monarchy was the best form of government for China and longed to become the successor of the old Manchu dynasty. He soon fell out with the National Convention over the powers which were to be enjoyed by the president; and the radicals, realizing their

[1] The Japanese did not leave Korea independent. They immediately took control of the administration, and finally, by the treaty of August 23, 1910, Korea was annexed to the Japanese empire.

mistake, attempted to bring about a second revolution. When, however, this revolt failed, Yuan Shih-kai proceeded to make himself dictator and to work toward reëstablishing the monarchy. He appointed military governors (Tuchuns) over the provinces to assist him in keeping the country under his control. After his death (June, 1916) the Tuchuns began to fight among themselves for supremacy, and the new president and the parliament were entirely in their power. Serious dissension arose among the various political factions in Peking over the entrance of China into the World War, and when parliament refused to declare war against Germany it was illegally dissolved. This led to a violent protest on the part of the radicals in the south and to the secession of Canton. Under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a distinguished man of European education, an independent government was set up in southern China which was to follow more constitutional methods; and members of the dissolved parliament hastened to Canton. But no real settlement was reached.

It is very difficult to follow the confused history of China since the establishment of the so-called republic. The country has been at the mercy of rival military chieftains, who have carried on incessant warfare and intrigue to gain power for themselves and their party. Brigands have overrun the land and made the life of foreigner and of native unsafe. Although the parliament has been assembled from time to time at Peking, it has usually dispersed in disorder. In 1922 one of the generals, Wu Pei-fu, won a victory over his rivals and set up his candidate as president in 1923. It seemed as if order were to be restored; but the parliament broke up, again without a constitution. The next year Wu Pei-fu was overthrown by his enemies, and a group of generals combined to form a unified government with Tuan Chi-jui as president. This move was approved by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The numerous parties seemed for the time being to be reduced to two, which differed in their conception of what the government should be. Wu

Pei-fu favored a strong central militaristic government, and the opposing party preferred a loose federation with more responsibility in the provinces.

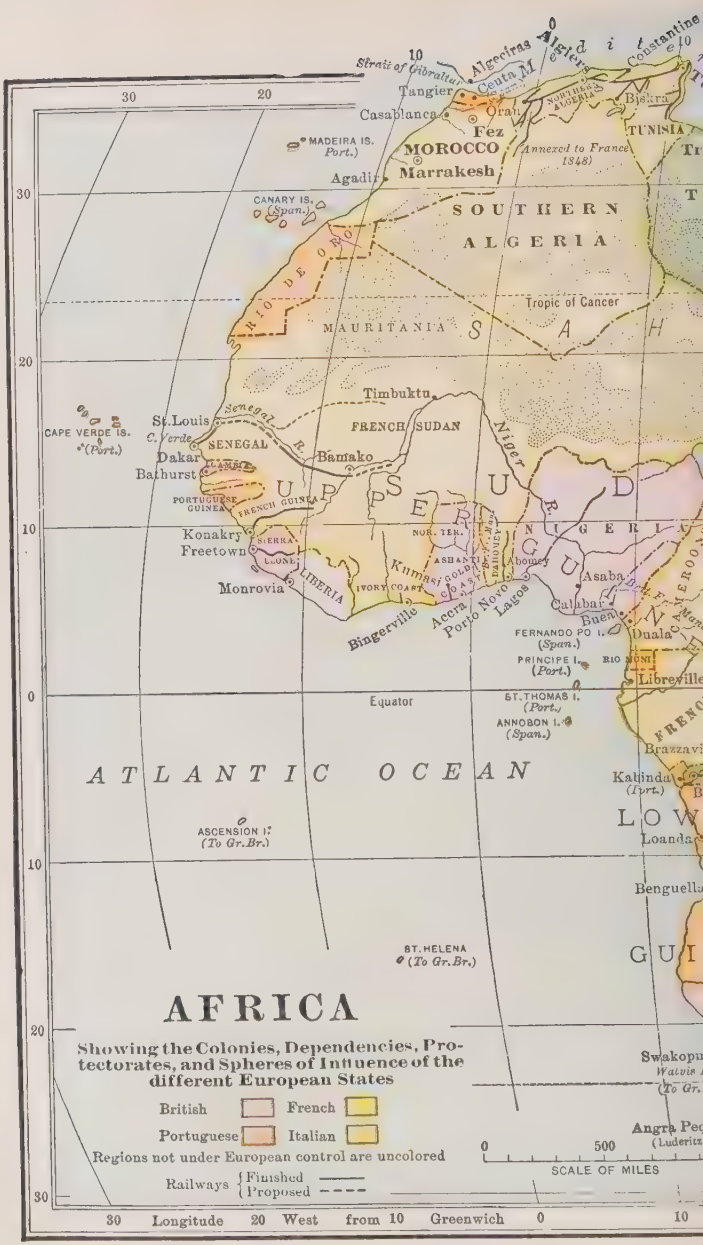
About 1900 China seemed to be entering on a new period of industrial activity and progress. Machinery was introduced, mills and factories rapidly increased, plans for improved transportation were made, and the natural resources of the country were to be developed. This beginning was checked by constant civil war and by the intervention of foreigners who strove to obtain control of the rich opportunities for business. Foreign business men, especially the Japanese, advanced large sums of money toward new enterprises, and when China was unable to meet her obligations they obtained mortgages and the control of the industry.

While the mass of the population still cling to the ideas and customs of their forefathers, Western civilization has begun to influence the younger generation, who tend to break away from the authority and tradition of the past, much to the horror of the older generation. A modern system of education was introduced about 1905; but the country was kept bankrupt by military expenses, and there were no funds for the development of the new type of instruction.

Partition of Africa among European Powers

The last great region to attract the attention of Europeans looking for trade was Africa. Little was known of the interior before 1870. Between 1850 and 1880 many explorers braved the torrid heat and the dangers from disease, savages, and wild beasts to discover the sources of the Nile and to trace the courses of the Zambezi River and the upper Congo. Of these, Livingstone and Stanley are best known.

Stanley's famous journey through the heart of "Darkest Africa" naturally aroused the intense interest of all the European powers, and within ten years after his triumphant return


AFRICA
Showing the Colonies, Dependencies, Protectorates, and Spheres of Influence of the different European States
British
French
Portuguese
Italian
Regions not under European control are uncolored
Railways Finished Proposed
SCALE OF MILES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Equator
Tropic of Cancer
Strait of Gibraltar
Algeciras
Ceuta
Tangier
Casablanca
Oran
Algiers
Constantine
Bona
Bizerta
TUNISIA
Fez
MOROCCO
Annexed to France 1848
Marrakesh
Agadir
MADEIRA IS. (Port.)
CANARY IS. (Span.)
SOUTHERN ALGERIA
RIO DE ORO
MAURITANIA
SAHARA
Timbuktu
Senegal R.
FRENCH SUDAN
Niger R.
CAPE VERDE IS. (Port.)
St. Louis
C. Verde
SENEGAL
Dakar
Bathurst
GAMBIA
Bamako
PORTUGUESE GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
UPPER SENEGAL AND NIGER
Konakry
Freetown
SIERRA LEONE
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
NOR. TER.
ASHANTI
KUMASI GOLD COAST
DAHOMEY
Abomey
Monrovia
Bingerville
Accra
Porto Novo
Lagos
NIGERIA
Asaba
Calabar
Buea
FERNANDO PO I. (Span.)
PRINCIPE I. (Port.)
RIO MUNI
Duala
Libreville
ST. THOMAS I. (Port.)
ANNOBON I. (Span.)
Brazzaville
Kalindula (Port.)
LOWER CONGO
Loanda
Benguella
ASCENSION I. (To Gr. Br.)
ST. HELENA (To Gr. Br.)
GUINEA
Swakopmund
Walvis Bay (To Gr. Br.)
Angra Pequena (Luderitz)
30 Longitude 20 West from 10 Greenwich 0 10

30
40
50
60
70
Beirut
Damascus
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Port Said
Alexandria
Suez Canal
Suez
Cairo
EGYPT
A S I A
INDIA
Red Sea
Aswan
1st Cataract
Halfa
Medina
ARABIA
Mecca
Port Sudan
Suakin
Bombay
Arabian Sea
Omdurman
Kassala
Massawa
Asmara
Khartum
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN
SUDAN
El Obeid
Kodok
(Fashoda)
ERITREA
Aden
SOKOTRA
(To Gr. Br.)
C. Guardafui
FRENCH SOMALI COAST
Jibuti
Berbera
BRITISH SOMALILAND
Addis Ababa
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
Lake Albert
UGANDA
KENYA
BRITISH
Kisumu
Stanleyville
Lake Victoria
COLONY
Nairobi
EAST
Equator
SEYCHELLES IS.
(To Gr. Br.)
AMIRANTE IS.
(To Gr. Br.)
Mombasa
ZANZIBAR PROT.
Zanzibar (British)
Dar es Salaam
TANGANYIKA
TERRITORY
AFRICA
British Mandatary
INDIAN OCEAN
Lake Nyasa
COMORO IS.
(Fr.)
MAYOTTE
Mozambique
MADAGASCAR
(To France)
Tamatave
Antananarivo
RODRIGUEZ I.
(To Gr. Br.)
REUNION I.
(Fr.)
MAURITIUS I.
(To Gr. Br.)
Victoria Falls
Zambezi R.
Salisbury
Beira
Sofala
Bulawayo
BECHUANALAND
MOZAMBIQUE
Tropic of Capricorn
Comparative Area
PENN.
45,126 Square Miles
TRANSVAAL
UNION
OF
SOUTH
AFRICA
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Delagoa Bay
Lourenco Marques
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Longitude East from Greenwich

to Marseille in 1878 almost the whole surface of Africa had been divided among the European powers or marked out into "spheres of influence."

France has almost the whole of the northwestern shoulder of the continent, from the mouth of the Congo to Tunis. To be sure, a very considerable portion of the French claim is nothing but a desert, totally useless in its present state. On the east coast of Africa the French control French Somaliland. They also hold the island of Madagascar.

Between 1884 and 1890 Germany, as we have seen, acquired four considerable areas of African territory: Togoland, the Cameroons, German Southwest Africa, and German East Africa, which together included nearly a million square miles. The Germans attempted to develop these regions by building railways and schools and expending enormous sums in other ways, but the wars with the natives and the failure to develop much commerce left the experiment one of doubtful value.

Wedged in between German East Africa and the French Congo is the Belgian Congo. King Leopold of Belgium organized a company in 1876 to explore this region, and later announced that he regarded himself as the ruler of the vast territories of the company. The conduct of this company illustrates the way in which the European invaders were tempted to force the natives to work. The savage natives, accustomed to a free life in the jungle, hated laying railroad ties, collecting rubber juice, or draining swamps for Belgian business men. Therefore the company required native chiefs to furnish a certain number of workmen, and on their failure to supply the demand their villages were often burned. The company also required the natives to deliver a certain quantity of rubber each year; failure to comply with these demands was cruelly punished. Protests in Europe and America led the Belgian ministry in 1908 to assume complete ownership of this territory, heretofore called the Congo Free State, which now took the name of the Belgian Congo.

South Africa, as has already been explained, had fallen to the English. They also gained important territories on the east coast running inland to the great lakes of Africa. But more important, in some ways, was their control over Egypt, which they enjoyed until the end of the World War. That ancient seat of civilization had been conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century, and in 1517 it fell under Turkish control. Shortly after Nelson and the English had frustrated Bonaparte's attempt to bring Egypt under French rule a military adventurer from Albania, Mehemet Ali, compelled the Sultan to recognize him as governor of Egypt in 1805. Mehemet Ali built up an army and a fleet and not only brought all Egypt under his sway but established himself at Khartum, where he could control the Sudan, or region of the upper Nile. Before his death, in 1849, he had induced the Sultan to recognize his heirs as rightful rulers (Khedives) of Egypt.

The importance of Egypt for the Western powers was greatly increased by the construction of the Suez Canal, begun in 1859, for both Port Saïd on the Mediterranean and Suez on the Red Sea are Egyptian ports. The English were able to get a foothold in Egypt through the improvidence of the Egyptian ruler, Ismail I, who came to the throne in 1863. By reckless extravagance Ismail involved his country in a heavy debt, which forced him to sell a block of his canal shares to the British government. Still badly in debt, however, Ismail was forced by his English and French creditors to let them oversee his financial administration. This foreign intervention aroused discontent in Egypt, and the natives revolted in 1882, demanding "Egypt for the Egyptians." Inasmuch as France declined to join in suppressing the rebellion, England undertook it alone and, after putting down the uprising, assumed a temporary occupation of the country and the supervision of the army and finances of Egypt. The British continued their "temporary" occupation until shortly after the opening of the World War in 1914, when they assumed a protectorate over Egypt.

Soon after the British occupation of Egypt trouble arose in the Sudan, where a revolt against the Khedive's government was organized under the leadership of Mohammed Ahmed, who claimed to be the Messiah and found great numbers of fanatical followers, who called him El Mahdi, "the leader." General Gordon was in charge of the British garrison at Khartum. Here he was besieged by the followers of the Mahdi in 1885 and, after a memorable defense, fell a victim to their fury. This disaster was avenged twelve years later, when in 1897–1898 the Sudan was reconquered and the city of Khartum was taken by the British under General Kitchener.

During the occupation of Egypt by the British the progress of the country was unquestioned; industry and commerce developed steadily, public works were constructed, and financial order was reëstablished under the supervision of the British agent, whose word was law. A large dam was built across the Nile at Aswan to control the irrigation. There was strict honesty in the government, and Egypt had never, in all its long history, been so prosperous.

Nevertheless there was a growing feeling among the Egyptians that their country should be ruled by their own people and not by the British. During the years following the close of the World War the Nationalist party under the able leadership of Zaghlul Pasha made vigorous efforts to force Great Britain to terminate its protectorate. Disorder and uprisings became so serious that the British finally acknowledged the independence of Egypt in 1922. The British reserved the right, however, to protect their own and foreign interests in Egypt and so retained some control over the new government. Sultan Ahmed Fuad Pasha was made king of Egypt. The Egyptian constitution establishes a hereditary monarchy and provides for a Senate, partly chosen by the king, partly elected, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by universal suffrage. It also provides for free and compulsory education.

The Nationalists, however, vigorously protested against the

restrictions which Great Britain had placed on Egyptian sovereignty. In September, 1924, Zaghlul Pasha, then Egyptian premier, presented to Ramsay MacDonald, the British premier, a demand that he withdraw all British troops, officials, and advisers from Egypt and the Sudan, that Britain's control over Egypt's foreign affairs should cease, and that the Suez Canal should be placed under international control. The refusal by the British of these demands led to a great nationalist demonstration, during which General Stack, sirdar of the Egyptian army and governor-general of the Sudan, was murdered.

The British seized this opportunity to present a harsh ultimatum, in which they reaffirmed all their claims to control Egyptian policy and required the payment of a fine of five hundred thousand pounds as an indemnity for the murder of their general. They demanded the recall of all Egyptian troops from the Sudan and gave notice that they proposed to extend their irrigation of the Sudan as far as they saw fit. As this enterprise threatened to deflect the headwaters of the Nile and decrease Egypt's own water supply, the Egyptians felt this to be a more terrifying grievance even than the restrictions on their sovereignty. The Egyptian parliament appealed to the League of Nations, which refused to take up the matter. The British claimed the Sudan, and pronounced the question a "domestic" one outside the jurisdiction of the League.

End of Spanish Dominion in the New World

In striking contrast to the other powers of Europe, occupied with colonial expansion, stand the two countries which in the era of discovery led them all in enterprise and achievement—Spain and Portugal.[1] Spain, who once could boast

[1] Portugal, who lost her greatest possession, Brazil, about the same time that Spain lost her South American colonies, still retains considerable stretches of Africa, as a glance at the map will show, but her holdings in Asia are reduced to the posts of Macao in China and of Goa in India. In 1910 the monarchy was overthrown, and Portugal became a republic.

that the sun never set on her empire, had been in decline since the days of Philip II. After losing her colonies on the American continents in the early nineteenth century she made no further gains in the other parts of the world to offset her losses.

In the meantime there was rising to predominance in North America a nation that was destined to deal the final blow to the Spanish empire. In the universal search for trade American business men were in no respect behind their European competitors. The natural resources of the United States and the skill of the American people placed that country among the first industrial and commercial powers of the whole world. In 1878 a coaling station was secured in the Samoan Islands, and later one of the islands was brought under the United States flag. In 1898 the Hawaiian Islands were annexed. In that same year came the clash between the United States and Spain, which put an end to Spanish dominion in the New World.

In 1895 the last of many Cuban insurrections against Spain broke out, and sympathy was immediately manifested in the United States. In February, 1898, the battleship *Maine* was mysteriously blown up in the harbor of Havana, where it had been sent in American interests. Although the cause of this disaster could not be discovered, the United States, maintaining that the conditions in Cuba were intolerable, declared war on Spain in April. The war was brief, for the American forces were everywhere victorious. Cuba was declared independent, and Spain ceded Porto Rico and the Philippines to the United States. The following year the Caroline Islands were transferred to Germany, and thus the territory of Spain was reduced to the Spanish peninsula, a few islands, and her holdings in northwest Africa.

Many forces conspired to extend the influence of the United States into Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. In general the Latin-American peoples were formed from an amalgamation of native and European races, both

inexperienced in the art of self-government. They were rich in natural resources but backward in industries. They needed capital to develop their business and foreign enterprise to start their factories and railways. As they were near neighbors, the United States could not avoid taking an interest in their affairs. A Pan-American Congress, composed of delegates from nineteen countries of Latin America, first met in Washington in 1889 to discuss mutual interests. A bureau of American republics—later called the Pan-American Union—was founded in Washington, and a handsome building was erected to house it.

The large population and vast resources of the Latin-American countries promise to make them a very important factor in the history of the future. The cultivation of friendly relations between the United States and the countries to the south is one of the chief tasks of the American government.

CHAPTER XXXV

RUSSIA AND THE NEAR-EASTERN QUESTION

Russia under Alexander I and Nicholas I

During the nineteenth century Russia came steadily into ever closer relations with western Europe. Although still a backward country in many respects, she was engaged in slowly modernizing herself. The works of some of her writers are widely read in foreign lands, especially those of Leo Tolstoï, Chekhov, and Turgeniev. The music of Rubinstein, Tschaikovsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov is as highly esteemed in London or New York as in Moscow. Even in the field of science such names as that of Mendelyeev the chemist and of Metchnikov the biologist are well known to their fellow workers in Germany, France, England, and America. In 1917 the great social revolution in Russia roused the keen interest of the whole world.

When in 1815 Tsar Alexander I returned to St. Petersburg after the close of the Congress of Vienna, he could view his position and achievements with pride. He had participated in Napoleon's overthrow and had succeeded in uniting the rulers of western Europe in that Holy Alliance which he had so much at heart. He was the undisputed and autocratic ruler of more than half the entire Continent of Europe, not to speak of the vast reaches of northern Asia which lay beneath his scepter.

Under Alexander's dominion there were many races and peoples, differing in customs, language, and religion: Finns, Germans, Poles, Jews, Tatars, Armenians, Georgians, and Mongols. The Russians themselves, it is true, had colonized the southern plains of European Russia and had spread northeastward, even into Siberia. They made up a large proportion of the population of the empire, and their language was every-

where taught in the schools and used by the officials.[1] The people of the grand duchy of Finland, speaking Swedish and Finnish, did not like their incorporation with Russia; and the Poles, recalling the time when their kingdom far outshone the petty duchy of Moscow among the European powers, still hoped that some day the kingdom of Poland might form an independent nation with its own language and constitution.

In the time of Alexander I the Russians had not begun to flock to the cities, which were small and ill built compared with those of western Europe. The great mass of the population still lived in the country, and most of the peasants were serfs, as ignorant and wretched as those of France or England in the twelfth century.

Alexander I had inherited, as "Autocrat of all the Russias," a despotic power over his subjects as absolute as that to which Louis XIV laid claim. He could appoint or dismiss his ministers and order the arrest, imprisonment, exile, or execution of anyone he chose without consulting or giving an account to any living being. Even the Russian national church was under his personal control.

During his early years Alexander entertained liberal ideas, but after his return from the Congress of Vienna he began to dismiss his liberal advisers. He became as apprehensive of revolution as his friend Metternich, and threw himself into the arms of the "Old Russian" party, which obstinately opposed the introduction of all Western ideas. The Tsar was soon denouncing liberalism as a frightful illusion which threatened the whole social order. He permitted his officials to do all they could to stamp out the ideas which he had himself formerly done so much to encourage. The censorship of the press put an end to the liberal periodicals which had sprung up, and

[1] The Cossacks, or light cavalry, who constituted so conspicuous a feature of the Russian army, were originally nomadic horsemen on the southern and eastern frontiers, composed mainly of adventurous Russians with some admixture of other peoples. Certain districts were assigned to them by the government—on the lower Don, near the Black Sea, the Urals, and elsewhere—in return for military service.

professors in the universities were dismissed for teaching modern science. The attraction of the new ideas was, however, so strong that the Tsar could not prevent some of his more enlightened subjects from following eagerly the course of the revolutionary movements in western Europe and reading the new books dealing with scientific discoveries and questions of political and social reform.

Alexander I died suddenly on December 1, 1825. The revolutionary societies seized this opportunity to precipitate a revolt known as the "Decembrist conspiracy." But the movement was badly organized; a few charges of grapeshot brought the insurgents to terms, and some of the leaders were hanged.

Nicholas I, Alexander's successor, never forgot the rebellion which inaugurated his reign, and he proved one of the most despotic of all the long list of autocratic rulers. His arbitrary measures speedily produced a revolt in Poland. Russian troops were stationed there in great numbers, Russian officials forced their way into the government offices, and the petitions of the Polish diet were contemptuously ignored by the Tsar. Secret societies then began to promote a movement for the reëstablishment of the ancient Polish republic, which Catherine II and her fellow monarchs had destroyed (see pages 62 ff., above). Late in 1830 an uprising occurred in Warsaw; the insurgents secured control of the city, drove out the Russian officials, organized a provisional government, and, appealing to the European powers for aid, proclaimed the independence of Poland, January 25, 1831.

The Tsar's armies were soon able to crush the rebellion, and when Poland lay prostrate at his feet Nicholas gave no quarter. He revoked the constitution, abolished the diet, and suppressed the national flag. To all intents and purposes Poland became henceforth merely a Russian province, governed, like the rest of the empire, from St. Petersburg.[1]

[1] Thirty years later, in 1863, the Poles made another desperate attempt to free themselves from the yoke of Russia, but without success.

Nicholas I sincerely believed that Russia could be saved from the "decay" of religion and government, which he was convinced was taking place in western Europe, only by maintaining autocracy, for this alone was strong enough to make head against the destructive ideas which some of his subjects mistook for enlightenment. The Russian-Greek Church and all its beliefs must be defended and the Russian nation be preserved as a separate and superior people who should maintain forever the noble ideas and institutions of the past. Certainly a great many of his advisers were well content with the system, and his army of officials were loath to recommend reform.

Accordingly the Tsar adopted strong measures to check the growth of liberalism. The officials bestirred themselves to prevent in every way the admission into Russia of advanced Western ideas. Books on religion and science were carefully examined by the police or the clergy; foreign works containing references to politics were confiscated or the objectionable pages were blotted out by the censors. The government officials did not hesitate freely to open private letters committed to the post. It may be said that, except for a few short intervals of freedom, this whole system was continued down to the World War.

In 1854 the efforts of Russia to increase her influence in Turkey led to a war with France and England. The Russians were defeated, and their strong fortress of Sevastopol, in the Crimea, was captured by the allies (see below). Nicholas I died in the midst of the reverses of the Crimean War, leaving to his son, Alexander II, the responsibility of coming to terms with the enemy and then, if possible, strengthening Russia by reducing the disgraceful political corruption and bribery which had been revealed by the war and by improving the lot of the people at large, who lived in poverty and degradation.

Abolition of Serfdom in Russia

Nearly half the Tsar's subjects were serfs, whose bondage and wretched lives seemed to present an insurmountable barrier to general progress and prosperity. The landlord commonly reserved a portion of his estate for himself and turned over to his serfs barely enough to enable them to keep body and soul together. They usually spent three days in the week cultivating their lord's fields. He was their judge as well as their master and could flog them at will. The Russian serfs were indeed practically slaves and were viewed as scarcely more than beasts of burden.

From time to time the serfs, infuriated by the hard conditions imposed upon them, revolted against their lords. During the reign of Catherine the Great a general uprising had taken place and was put down only with terrible bloodshed and cruelty. Under Nicholas I over five hundred riots had occurred, and these seemed to increase rather than diminish, notwithstanding the vigilance of the police and the severity of the government.

Alexander II, fearful lest the peasants should again attempt to win their liberty by force, decided that the government must undertake the difficult task of freeing forty millions of his subjects from serfdom. After much discussion he issued an emancipation proclamation on March 3, 1861, on the eve of the great civil war which was to put an end to negro slavery in the United States.

In his anxiety to prevent any loss to the landowners, who constituted the ruling class in the Russian government, the Tsar did his work in a very half-hearted manner. It is true that the government deprived the former lord of his right to force the peasants to work for him and pay him the old dues; he could no longer flog them or command them to marry against their will; but the peasants still remained bound to the land, for they were not permitted to leave their villages

without a government pass. The landlords surrendered a portion of their estates to the peasants, but this did not become the property of *individual* owners, but of the *village community* as a whole. The land assigned to each village was to be redistributed periodically among the various families of the community so that, aside from his hut and garden, no peasant could lay claim permanently to any particular plot of land.

The Russian government dealt very generously with the landlords. It not only agreed that the peasants should be required to pay for such land as their former masters turned over to them, but commonly fixed the price at an amount far greater than the real value of the land—a price which the government paid and proposed to collect in installments from the serfs.

His new "freedom" seemed to the peasant little better than that of a convict condemned to hard labor in the penitentiary. Indeed, he sometimes refused to be "freed" when he learned of the hard bargain which the government proposed to drive with him. There were hundreds of riots while the readjustments were taking place, which were sternly suppressed by the government. The peasants were compelled by force of arms to accept their "liberty" and pay the land tax which emancipation imposed upon them.

Naturally, if the people in a given community increased, the size of the individual allotments inevitably decreased, and with that the chances of earning a livelihood. More than fifty years after the "freeing" of the serfs the peasant had on the average scarcely half as much land as that originally assigned to him. Although he lived constantly on the verge of starvation, he fell far behind in the payment of his taxes, so that in 1904 the Tsar, in a moment of forced generosity, canceled the arrears, which in any case the peasants could never have paid. A little later the Tsar issued an order permitting the peasants to leave their particular village and seek employment elsewhere. They might,

on the other hand, become *owners* of their allotments. This led to the practical abolition of the ancient *mir*, or village community, and left millions of peasants as tenants of great landlords and sometimes as owners of their holdings.[1] All these bitter ancient grudges of the Russian peasants explain the ruthless way in which they dispossessed the hated landlords as soon as the Bolshevik revolution afforded them a chance.

The Russian Terrorists

In spite of freeing the serfs Alexander II regarded reformers with the utmost suspicion and began to arrest the more active among them. The prisons were soon crowded, and hundreds were banished to Siberia. The Tsar and his police seemed to be the avowed enemies of all progress, and anyone who advanced a new idea was punished as if he had committed a murder. No preparation of the people for representative government could go on so long as the police were arresting men for forming debating clubs. It seemed to the more ardent reformers that there was no course open but to declare war on the government as a body of cruel, corrupt tyrants who would keep Russia in darkness forever. They argued that the atrocious acts of the officials must be exposed, the government intimidated, and the eyes of the world opened to the horrors of the situation, by startling acts of violence. So some of the reformers became *terrorists*, not necessarily because they were depraved men or loved bloodshed but because some, at least, were convinced that there was no other way to save their beloved land from the fearful oppression under which it groaned.

The government fought terrorism with terrorism. In 1879 sixteen suspected revolutionists were hanged and scores were sent to the dungeons of St. Petersburg or to the mines of

[1] These village communities had long existed in Russia, since the lords had usually found it convenient to have the village redistribute the land from time to time among the serfs as the number of inhabitants changed.

Siberia. The terrorists, on their part, retaliated by attacks on the Tsar and his government. Attempts were made to blow up a special train on which the Tsar was traveling, and in another effort to kill him the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg was wrecked by a revolutionist disguised as a carpenter.

In short, the efforts of the Tsar's officials to check the revolutionists proved vain, and the minister to whom the Tsar had given almost dictatorial powers to suppress the agitation finally saw that the government must make some concessions in order to pacify its enemies; so he advised Alexander II to grant a species of constitution, in which he should agree to convoke an assembly elected by the people and thereafter ask its opinion and counsel before making new and important laws. The Tsar finally consented, but it was too late. On the afternoon that he gave his assent to the plan he was assassinated as he was driving to his palace (March, 1881).

The reign of Alexander II had not been entirely given up to internal changes and repression, however. In 1877 Russia was again at war with Turkey, aiding the "south Slavs"—Serbians, Montenegrins, and Bulgarians—in their attempt to throw off the Turkish yoke. Successful in arms, Russia was, however, obliged to relinquish most of her gains and those of her allies by a congress of the European powers held at Berlin in 1878 (see page 437, below).

While the body of the murdered Tsar, Alexander II, was still lying in state, the executive committee of the revolutionists issued a warning to his son and successor, Alexander III, threatening him with the evils to come if he did not yield to their demand for representative government, freedom of speech and of the press, and the right to meet for the discussion of political questions. The new Tsar was not, however, moved by the appeal, and the police redoubled their activity. The plans of reform were repudiated, and the autocracy settled back into its usual despotic habits. The terrorists realized that for the time being they had nothing to gain by further

acts of violence, which would serve only to strengthen the government they were fighting. It was clear that the people at large were not yet ready for a revolution.

The reign of Alexander III (1881–1894) was a period of quiet, during which little progress seemed to be made. The people suffered the oppression of the government officials without active opposition. Their occasional protests were answered by imprisonment, flogging, or exile, for Alexander III and his intimate advisers believed quite as firmly and religiously in autocracy as Nicholas I had done. Freedom and liberalism, they agreed, could serve only to destroy a nation. All ideas of democracy which had produced revolutions in western Europe must be kept out at all cost.

Economic Expansion of Russia

It became increasingly difficult, however, to keep Russia "frozen"; for during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the spread of democratic ideas had been hastened by the coming of the steam engine, the factory, and the locomotive, all of which served to unsettle the humdrum agricultural life which the great majority of the people had led for centuries. In spite of her mineral resources Russia had lagged far behind her Western neighbors in the use of machinery. She had little capital, no adequate means of transportation across the vast stretches of country that separated her chief towns, and the governing classes had no taste for manufacturing enterprises.

The liberation of the serfs, with all its drawbacks, favored the growth of factories, for the peasants were sometimes permitted to leave their villages for the manufacturing centers which were gradually growing up. The value of the products of the chief industries doubled between 1887 and 1897, and the number of people employed in them increased from one million three hundred thousand to over two millions.

Along with this business development went the construction of great railway lines, built largely by the government with money borrowed from capitalists in western Europe. Some of the railroads were constructed chiefly for political and military purposes, but others were designed to connect the great factory centers. Railway building was first seriously undertaken in Russia after the disasters of the Crimean War, when the soldiers suffered cruel hardships in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining supplies. By 1878 upward of eight thousand miles had been built, connecting the capital with the frontiers of European Russia. In 1885 the railway advance toward the frontiers of India[1] was begun, and within a short time Afghanistan was reached and communication opened to the borders of China. Important lines were also built in the region between the Black Sea and the Caspian.

The greatest of all railway undertakings was the Trans-Siberian road, which was rendered necessary for the transportation of soldiers and military supplies to the eastern boundary of the empire. Communication was established between St. Petersburg and the Pacific in 1900, and a branch line from Harbin southward to Port Arthur was soon finished.

[1] The expansion of Russia to the southeast was very rapid. In 1846 the southern boundary ran along the lower edge of the Aral Sea. In 1863 Russia, claiming that the Turkestan tribesmen pillaged caravans and harried her frontiers, sent forces which captured the cities of Turkestan, Chemkent, and Tashkent, and two years later organized the region into the new province of Russian Turkestan. Shortly afterward the Ameer of Bokhara declared war on the Tsar, only to have the Russians occupy the ancient city of Samarkand and later establish a protectorate over Bokhara, which brought them to the borders of Afghanistan. In 1872 the Khan of Khiva was reduced to vassalage. During the following years (1873–1886) the regions to the south, about Merv, down to the borders of Persia and Afghanistan, were gradually annexed. In 1876 the province of Kokand on the boundary of the Chinese Empire was seized and transformed into the province of Fergana. By securing railway concessions and making loans to the Shah the Russians became powerful in Persia, and thus all along their southeastern frontiers they struggled for predominance against British influence. In 1907 the British and Russian governments came to a settlement in regard to their spheres of influence in Persia.

One could, before the World War, travel in comfort, with few changes of cars, from Havre to Vladivostok via Paris, Cologne, Berlin, Warsaw, Moscow, Irkutsk on Lake Baikal, and Harbin, a distance of seventy-three hundred miles. In addition to the main line, some important branches were built and more planned. By means of these the vast plains of central Asia may before long be peopled as the plains of America have been.

Development of Discontent under Nicholas II (1894–1917)

When Nicholas II succeeded his father, Alexander III, in 1894, he was but twenty-six years old, and there was some reason to hope that he would face the problems of this new industrial Russia in a progressive spirit. He had had an opportunity in his travels to become somewhat familiar with the governments of western Europe, and one of his first acts was to order the imprisonment of the prefect of police of St. Petersburg for annoying the correspondents of foreign newspapers. Nicholas, however, quickly dispelled any illusions which his more liberal subjects entertained. "Let it be understood by all," he declared, "that I shall employ all my powers in the best interests of the people, but the principle of autocracy will be sustained by me as firmly and unswervingly as it was by my never-to-be-forgotten father."

The censorship of the press was made stricter than ever, one decree alone adding two hundred books to the already long list of those which the government condemned.[1] The distinguished historian Professor Milyoukov was dismissed from the University of Moscow on the ground of his "generally noxious tendencies," and other teachers were warned not to talk about government.

[1] Among the books which the government prohibited in public libraries were the Russian translations of Mill's *Political Economy*, Green's *Short History of the English People*, and Bryce's *American Commonwealth*.

Nowhere did the Tsar show his desire for absolute control more clearly than in his dealings with Finland. When Alexander I had annexed that country in 1809 he had permitted it to retain its own diet and pass its own laws, although of course it recognized the Tsar as its ruler under the title of "Grand Duke." The Finns cherished their independence and have in recent times shown themselves one of the most progressive peoples of Europe. In 1899, however, Nicholas began a harsh and determined *Russification* of Finland. He sent heartless officials, like Plehve, to represent him and crush out all opposition to his changes. He undertook to substitute the Russian language, so far as possible, for the Finnish.

Finally, on June 17, 1904, the Russian governor of Finland was assassinated by the son of one of the senators, who then killed himself, leaving a letter in which he explained that he had acted alone and with the simple purpose of forcing on the Tsar's attention the atrocities of his officials. A year later the Tsar, under the influence of revolution at home and disaster abroad, consented to restore to Finland all her former rights.

We must now trace the history of the terrible struggle between the Russian people and their despotic government, which began openly in 1904. In 1902 an unpopular minister of the interior had been assassinated, and the Tsar had appointed a still more unpopular man in his place, namely, Plehve, who was notorious for his success in hunting down those who criticized the government and for the vigor with which he had carried on the Russification of Finland.

Plehve connived at the persecution of those among the Tsar's subjects who ventured to disagree with the doctrines of the Russian official church, to which every Russian was supposed to belong. The Jews suffered especially. There were massacres at Kishinev and elsewhere in 1903 which horrified the Western world and drove hundreds of thousands of Jews to foreign lands, especially to the United States. There is good reason to believe that Plehve actually arranged these mas-

sacres. At all events he continued to tolerate them until a bomb put an end to his career in the summer of 1904.

Plehve was mistaken, however, in his belief that all the trouble came from a handful of deluded fanatics. Among those who detested the cruel and corrupt government which he represented were the professional men, the university professors, the enlightened merchants and manufacturers, and the public-spirited nobility. These were not at first organized into a distinct party, but in time they came to be known as the Constitutional Democrats. They hoped that a parliament elected by the people might be established. They demanded freedom of speech and of the press, the right to hold public meetings for the purpose of discussing public questions, and the abolition of the secret-police system and of arbitrary imprisonment and religious persecutions.

In the towns a socialistic party had been growing up which advocated the theories of the Western prophet of socialism, Karl Marx (see Chapter XL). It desired all the reforms advocated by the Constitutional Democrats just described, but looked forward to the time when the workingmen would become so numerous and powerful that they could seize the government offices and assume the management of lands, mines, and factories, which should thereafter be used for the benefit of all rather than for the small class of rich men who then owned them. Unlike the reformers next to be described, they did not believe in terrorism or in murderous attacks upon unpopular government officials.

In contrast with these were those Russian agitators—forerunners of the Bolsheviki—who belonged to the Socialist Revolutionary party, which was well organized and was responsible for the chief acts of violence during the years of the revolution. They maintained that it was right to make war upon the government, which was oppressing them and extorting money from the people to fill the pockets of dishonest officeholders. Its members selected their victims from

the most notoriously cruel among the officials, and after a victim had been killed they usually published a list of the offenses which cost him his life. Lists of those selected for assassination were also prepared, after careful consideration, by their executive committee.

The more the Tsar sought to stamp out all protest against the autocracy, the more its enemies increased; and at last, in 1904, the open revolution may be said to have begun. On February 5 of that year a war commenced with Japan (see pages 405 f., above), which was caused by Russia's encroachments in Korea and her evident intention of permanently depriving China of Manchuria. The liberals attributed the conflict to bad management on the part of the Tsar's officials and declared it to be inhuman and contrary to the interests of the people. Whatever the cause, disaster was the outcome. The Japanese defeated the Russians in Manchuria in a series of terrific conflicts. The Russian fleets in the East were annihilated; and on January 1, 1905, Port Arthur fell after a terrible siege.

The war produced a stagnation of commerce and industry, and strikes became common. At the same time the crops failed, and the starving peasants sacked and burned the houses and barns of the nobles. It became known that the government officials had been stealing money which should have gone to strengthen and equip the armies: rifles had been paid for which had never been delivered, supplies had been bought which never reached the suffering soldiers, and, most scandalous of all, high Russian dignitaries had even misappropriated the funds of the Red Cross Society for aiding the wounded.

On January 22, 1905, a fearful event occurred. The workingmen of St. Petersburg had sent a petition to the Tsar and had informed him that on Sunday they would march to the palace humbly to pray him in person to consider their sufferings, since they had no faith in his officials or ministers. When Sunday morning came, masses of men, women, and children,

wholly unarmed, attempted to approach the Winter Palace in the pathetic hope that the "Little Father," as they called the Tsar, would listen to their woes. Instead, the Cossacks tried to disperse them with their whips, and then the troops which guarded the palace shot and cut down hundreds and wounded thousands in a conflict which continued all day. "Red Sunday" was, however, only the most impressive of many similar encounters between citizens and the Tsar's police.

Autocracy and the Duma

Finally the Tsar so far yielded to the pressure of public opinion that on August 19 he promised to summon a *Duma*, or council, which should meet not later than January, 1906. It was to represent all Russia, but to have no further power than that of giving the ruler advice in making the laws, for the Tsar refused to give up his old autocratic prerogatives.

This was a bitter disappointment to even the most moderate liberals. It was pointed out that both the workingmen and the professional men were excluded by the regulations from voting. A more effective measure in bringing the Tsar and his advisers to terms was a great general strike in the interest of reform which began late in October, 1905. All the railroads stopped running; in all the great towns the shops, except those that dealt in provisions, were closed; gas and electricity were no longer furnished; the law courts ceased their duties; and even the apothecaries refused to prepare prescriptions until reforms should be granted.

The situation soon became intolerable; and on October 29 the Tsar announced that he had ordered the "government" to grant the people freedom of conscience, speech, and association, and to permit the classes which had been excluded in his first edict to vote for members of the Duma. Lastly, he agreed "to establish an immutable rule that no law can come into force without the approval of the Duma."

The elections for the Duma took place in March and April, 1906, and, in spite of the activity of the police, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the Constitutional Democrats. The deputies to the Duma assembled in no humble frame of mind. Like the members of the Estates General in 1789, they felt that they had the nation behind them. They listened stonily to the Tsar's remarks at the opening session, and it was clear from the first that they would not agree any better with their monarch than the French deputies had agreed with Louis XVI and his courtiers.

The Tsar's ministers would not coöperate with the Duma in any important measures of reform, and on July 21 Nicholas II declared that he was "cruelly disappointed" because the deputies had not confined themselves to their proper duties and had commented upon many matters which belonged to him. He accordingly dissolved the Duma, as he had a perfect right to do, and fixed March 5, 1907, as the date for the meeting of a new Duma.

The revolutionists made an unsuccessful attempt in August to blow up the Tsar's chief minister in his country house and continued to assassinate governors and police officials. The "Black Hundreds," on the other hand, murdered Jews and liberals, and the government established courts-martial to insure the speedy trial and immediate execution of revolutionists. In the two months September and October, 1906, these courts summarily condemned three hundred persons to be shot or hanged. During the whole year some nine thousand persons were killed or wounded for political reasons.

A fearful famine was afflicting the land at the end of the year, and it was discovered that a member of the Tsar's ministry had been stealing the money appropriated to furnish grain to the dying peasants. An observer who had traveled eight hundred miles through the famine-stricken district reported that he did not find a single village where the peasants had food enough for themselves or their cattle. The conditions were

terrible for in some places the peasants were reduced to eating bark and the straw used for their thatch roofs.

In October, 1906, the decree was issued permitting the peasants to leave their particular village community and join another or to seek employment elsewhere. On November 25 the peasants were empowered to become owners of their allotments, and all redemption dues were remitted. This constituted the first step toward a practical abolition of the system of common ownership by village communities, described above, which was finally achieved by a law of June 27, 1910. This was the beginning of the great social changes in Russia, which were greatly hastened and extended in a most reckless fashion by the Bolshevik revolution that followed the World War.

The Tsar continued to summon the Duma regularly, but so arranged the system of voting for its members that only the conservative classes of the nation were represented, and his officials did all they could to keep out liberal deputies. In spite of this the fourth Duma, elected in 1912, showed much independence in opposing the oppressive rule of the Tsar's ministers. Although parliamentary government was by no means won in Russia, many important reforms were achieved. The Tsar, however, continued to retain the title of "Autocrat of all the Russias," and his officials went on persecuting those who ventured to criticize the government, until the revolution of March, 1917, deprived them of all power (see pages 465 ff., below).

Greek Independence: the Crimean War (1854–1856)

The relations of the western European states with Russia as well as among themselves have been deeply affected since the opening of the nineteenth century by the so-called near-Eastern question. This was the great problem of what was to become of southeastern Europe, which had been overwhelmed by the Turks in the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

turies (see Chapter XXI, above). The Balkan Peninsula is inhabited to a considerable extent by Slavs; Russia claimed to have some fraternal solicitude for their welfare as well as to be the natural protector of adherents to their form of Christianity, the Greek Orthodox Church, which was the State church of Russia. An event in the Balkan Peninsula touched off the fuse that ignited the conflagration of the World War; consequently none of us can be indifferent to the strange history and complexities of the Balkan situation.

Austria had long been a next-door neighbor of the Turks, but by the year 1600 the Mohammedans had been driven out of Hungary. This country came under the rule of the House of Hapsburg, which ardently desired to extend its control farther into Turkish territory. In 1774 Catherine the Great had secured the Crimea and so got a footing for Russia on the Black Sea, which was extended by Alexander I, who won Bessarabia (also on the Black Sea). But so far Russia has never been able to win its longed-for goal, Constantinople, which remains to this day the prized conquest of the Turks, although after the World War it ceased to be the capital of their empire.

Shortly after the Congress of Vienna the Serbians, who had for a number of years been in revolt against the Turks, were able to establish their practical independence (1817), and Serbia, with Belgrade as its capital, became a principality tributary to Turkey. This was the first of a series of Balkan states which have emerged during the nineteenth century from beneath the Mohammedan inundation. In the later Middle Ages Serbia, as was pointed out earlier, had been a considerable power, and its people had never forgotten their former glory as an independent and aggressive state.

The next Balkan state to gain its independence was Greece, whose long conflict against Turkish despotism aroused throughout Europe the sympathy of all who appreciated the glories of ancient Greece. The inhabitants of the land of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes were, it is true, scarcely to be regarded as

descendants of the Greeks, and the language they spoke differed greatly from the ancient tongue. At the opening of the nineteenth century, however, the national spirit once more awoke in Greece, and able writers made modern Greek a literary language and employed it in stirring appeals to the patriotism of their fellow countrymen.

In 1821 an insurrection broke out in Morea, as the ancient Peloponnesus is now called. The movement spread through the peninsula; the atrocities of the Turks were rivaled by those of the Greeks, and thousands of Mohammedans—men, women, and children—were slaughtered. On January 27, 1822, the Greek National Assembly issued a proclamation of independence.

To Metternich this revolt seemed only another illustration of the dangers of revolution, but the liberals throughout Europe enthusiastically sympathized with the Greek uprising, since it was carried on in the name of national liberty. Intellectual men in England, France, Germany, and the United States held meetings to express sympathy for the cause, and to the ardent Christian it seemed a righteous war against infidels and persecutors. Soldiers and supplies poured into Greece. Indeed, the Greeks could scarcely have freed themselves had the European powers refused to intervene.

It is needless to follow the long negotiations between the various European courts in connection with Greek affairs. In 1827 Great Britain, France, and Russia signed a treaty at London providing for a joint adjustment of the difficulty, on the ground that it was necessary to put an end to the sanguinary struggle which left Greece and the adjacent islands a prey "to all the disasters of anarchy, and daily causes fresh impediments to the commerce of Europe." The Porte (that is, the Turkish government) having refused to accept the mediation of the allies, their combined fleets destroyed that of the Sultan at Navarino in October, 1827. Thereupon the Porte declared a "holy war" on the unbelievers, especially the Rus-

sians. But the latter were prepared to push the war with vigor, and they not only actively promoted the freedom of Greece but forced the Sultan to grant practical independence to the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, which came thereby under Russian influence and later were united into the kingdom of Rumania. Turkey was no longer able to oppose the wishes of the allies, and in 1832 Greece became an independent state, choosing for its king Prince Otto of Bavaria.

A fresh excuse for interfering in Turkish affairs was afforded the Tsar two decades later. Complaints reached him that Christian pilgrims were not permitted by the Turks (who had long been in possession of the Holy Land and Jerusalem) freely to visit the places made sacred by their associations with the life of Jesus. Russia seemed the natural protector of those, at least, who adhered to her own form of Christianity, and the Russian ambassador rudely demanded that the Porte should grant the Tsar a protectorate over all the Christians in Turkey.

When news of this situation reached Paris, Napoleon III, who had recently become emperor and was anxious to take a [illegible] in European affairs, declared that France, in virtue of earlier [illegible]ties with the Porte, enjoyed the right to protect Catholic C[illegible]tians. He found an ally in Great Britain, which feared that if [illegible]ssia took Constantinople it would command the route to Indi[illegible] and which accordingly advised the Sultan not to accede to [illegible]ssia's demands. When the Tsar's troops marched into the T[illegible]kish dominions, France and Great Britain came to the Sulta[illegible]'s assistance and declared war upon Russia in 1854.

The Crimean War, which followed, owes its name to the fact that the operations of the allies against Russia culminated in the long and bloody siege of Sevastopol, in the southern part of the Crimean peninsula. Every victory won by the allies was dearly bought. The British soldiers suffered at first in consequence of the inefficiency of the home government in sending

them the necessary supplies. The Russians, however, were disheartened by the sufferings of their own soldiers, the inefficiency and corruption of their officials, and the final loss of the mighty fortress of Sevastopol. They saw, moreover, that their near neighbor, Austria, was about to join their enemies. The new tsar, Alexander II, therefore consented in 1856 to the terms of a treaty drawn up at Paris.[1]

This treaty recognized the independence of the Ottoman Empire and guaranteed its territorial integrity. The "Sublime Porte" was also included within the scope of the international law of Europe, from which it had hitherto been excluded as an infidel and barbarous government, and the other powers agreed not to interfere further with the domestic affairs of Turkey. The Black Sea was declared neutral territory and its waters were thrown open to merchant ships of all nations, but no warships were to pass through the Bosporus or the Dardanelles. In short, Turkey was preserved and strengthened by the intervention of the powers as a bulwark against Russian encroachment in the Balkan Peninsula; but although the Sultan made liberal promises nothing was really done to reform the Turkish administration or to make the lot of the Christian subjects more secure.

The Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) and the Congress of Berlin

Some idea of the situation of the people under the Sultan's rule may be derived from the report of an English traveler (Mr. Arthur Evans) in 1875. In the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina he found that outside the large towns, where European consuls were present, there was no safety for the honor, the property, or the lives of the Christians, because the authorities were blind to any outrage com-

[1] It will be remembered that Sardinia had joined the allies against Russia, and in this way forced the powers to admit it to the deliberations at Paris, where Cavour seized the opportunity to plead the cause of Italy (see page 349, above).

mitted by a Mohammedan. The Sultan's taxes fell principally on the peasants, in the form of a tenth of their produce. It was a common custom for the collectors (who were often not Mohammedans but brutal Christians) to require the peasant to pay the tax in cash before the harvesting of the ripe crop, and if he could not meet the charges, the taxgatherer simply said, "Then your harvest shall rot on the ground till you pay it." When this oppression was resisted, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the offenders.

In 1874 a failure of crops aggravated the intolerable conditions, and an insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina which set the whole Balkan Peninsula aflame. The Bulgarians around Philippopolis, incited to hopes of independence by the events in the regions to the west of them, assassinated some of the Turkish officials and gave the Ottoman government a pretext for the most terrible atrocities in the modern history of Turkish rule in Europe, the murder of thousands of Bulgarians.

While the European powers were exchanging futile diplomatic notes on the situation, Serbia and Montenegro declared war on the Sultan, and the Christians in the Balkan region made a frantic appeal to the West for immediate help. A good deal naturally depended on the position taken by Great Britain, which was in alliance with Turkey. Gladstone, then leader of the Liberals, urged his countrymen to break the unholy alliance between Great Britain and "the unspeakable Turk." But Gladstone's party was not in power, and Lord Beaconsfield was fearful that British encouragement to the Slavic rebels in the Sultan's dominions would only result in their becoming independent and allying themselves with Great Britain's enemy, Russia. The British believed that in the interest of their trade they must continue to resist any movement which might destroy the power of the Sultan, who was not so likely as a European power, such as Russia or Austria, to hamper their Eastern commerce.

The negotiations of the powers having come to nothing, Russia determined in 1877 to act alone. Her declaration of war was shortly followed by Russian victories, and in 1878 a Russian army entered Adrianople, which was equivalent to an announcement to the world that Ottoman dominion in Europe had come to an end. Great Britain protested; but the Sultan was forced to sign the Treaty of San Stefano with the Tsar and to recognize the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. In 1862 the so-called Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia had formed a voluntary union under the name "Rumania." In 1866 the Rumanians chose for their ruler a German prince, Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who, in 1881, was proclaimed king of Rumania as Carol I. He died in 1914 and was succeeded by his nephew Ferdinand. As for Bulgaria, it was made an independent state except for the payment of tribute to the Sultan.

Great Britain and Austria had naturally serious objections to this treaty, which increased the influence of Russia in the Balkans. They therefore forced Tsar Alexander II to submit the whole matter to the consideration of a general European congress at Berlin (1878), where, after prolonged and stormy sessions, the powers agreed that Serbia, Rumania, and little Montenegro should be entirely independent and that Bulgaria should also be independent except for the payment of a tribute to the Sultan. The Tsar was permitted to annex a district to the east of the Black Sea, including the towns of Batum and Kars. The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina were, moreover, to be occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary. This proved an important decision, as we shall see later.

The territorial settlement at Berlin, like that at Vienna sixty years before, disregarded many national aspirations. The Bulgarians (who looked back to their independence before the coming of the Turks) were especially disappointed with the arrangement, for, instead of being all united in one state, as they had hoped, only the region between the Danube and the

Balkan Mountains, with some slight additions, was recognized as the principality of Bulgaria. Those Bulgarians dwelling just south of the Balkan range in the province of Eastern Rumelia were still subjects of the Sultan, although under a Christian governor-general. As for Macedonia and the region about Adrianople, where there were also many Bulgarians, they were left under the direct administration of Turkish officials.

Under the terms of the treaty the inhabitants of the Bulgarian principality proceeded to frame a constitution, and chose as their prince Alexander of Battenberg (succeeded by Ferdinand of Coburg in 1886). They adopted as their watchword "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians," and took the first step toward the reunion of their race by quietly occupying the region to the south—Eastern Rumelia. At length, in 1908, they refused to pay the Sultan's tribute and took their place among the independent nations of the world.

In 1897 Greece risked a war with Turkey, with the hope of increasing her realms, but was defeated. Turkey was, of course, anxious at all costs to hold on to the remnant of her once large dominion in Europe left her by the Congress of Berlin. She still held Macedonia and Albania. The European powers were well aware of the horrible local massacres, assassinations, and robberies going on in Macedonia under Turkish rule, but they dreaded the general war which might develop if any attempt were made to take the region from Turkey and divide it among the independent Balkan states of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, all of which laid claim to it as rightfully theirs. Nevertheless, in 1908, thirty years after the unsatisfactory settlement at Berlin, a series of events began which in six years precipitated the World War.

Balkan Wars in the Early Twentieth Century

During the opening years of the twentieth century there developed in Turkey a small party of reformers, known as Young Turks, who were especially strong in the army, where

as officers they had to study the ideas and methods of Western nations. In 1908 a so-called "Committee of Union and Progress" was formed in the Turkish port of Salonika. In July this committee declared that Turkey must have a constitution and that the reformers would march on Constantinople if the Sultan did not yield. The aged Sultan, Abdul Hamid, did not feel himself in a position to oppose the movement, and so at last even Turkey got something that passed for a constitution. The election of representatives to the Turkish parliament took place, and the assembly was opened by the Sultan with great pomp in December, 1908.

Bulgaria immediately seized the occasion to declare itself entirely independent of Turkey. Next Austria proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two Slavic provinces of Turkey which she had been managing since the settlement at the Congress of Berlin. She set to work to Germanize them as completely as possible and to suppress all tendencies to join their Slavic relatives in Serbia. A glance at the map on page 441 will show how important these provinces were for Austria, since they connected her other main possessions with Dalmatia and her ports on the Adriatic.

In September, 1911, the troubles of the new Turkish government were multiplied, for Italy declared war on Turkey, on the ground that Italian subjects in Tripoli were not properly treated. All Europe protested against this "high-handed" action by Italy; but Italy replied that she was merely following the example set by other countries: protecting the lives and property of her citizens by annexing a country beset by chronic disorders. Turkey was no match for Italy. There was not a great deal of fighting, but Italy took possession of such portions of Tripoli as she could hold with her troops and also captured the island of Rhodes. The Young Turks did not feel that they could face the unpopularity of surrendering the regions occupied by Italy; but after the war had dragged on for a year, they were forced in October, 1912, by the oncoming of

a new Balkan war, to cede Tripoli, reserving only a vague Turkish suzerainty. Italy continued to hold Rhodes too.

Venizelos, the statesman who had been reorganizing Greece with the ability of a Cavour, secretly arranged an alliance with Bulgaria, Serbia, and little Montenegro for a war with Turkey, which began in October, 1912. The Turkish army disappointed everyone, and the Bulgarians were able in a few days to defeat it, to invest the important fortress of Adrianople, and to drive the Turkish forces back close to Constantinople. The Greeks advanced into Macedonia and Thrace, and the Montenegrin and Serbian army defeated the Turkish army sent against them and attacked Albania.

Austria now began to get nervous lest the Serbians should establish themselves on the Adriatic. She forbade Serbia to hold the port of Durazzo. Had Russia been inclined to support Serbia at that moment, the World War would probably have broken out at the end of 1912 instead of two years later. Serbia, however, backed down. A truce was arranged, and representatives of the Balkan states and of Turkey met in London to see if peace could be arranged. The powers advised Turkey to give up everything in Europe except Constantinople and the region immediately to the west. The Young Turks decided, however, to fight a little longer, and the war was resumed in January. Everything went against them, and in May preliminaries of peace were signed in London in which Turkey turned over Macedonia and Crete to the Balkan allies.

But Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece were all jealous of one another, and the division of the booty led immediately to Bulgaria's turning round to wage war on Greece and Serbia. There was a month of frightful war (July, 1913), and then the Bulgarians, defeated on all sides,—for even the Turks recovered Adrianople, and the Rumanians invaded Bulgaria from the east,—agreed to consider peace, and delegates met in Bucharest, the capital of Rumania.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE 1914
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Longitude 25° East from Greenwich
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUSSIA
RUMANIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
BOSNIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
GALICIA
Vienna
Prague
Budapest
Pressburg
Krakow
Lemberg
Kiev
Odessa
Jassy
Bucharest
Belgrade
Sarajevo
Sofia
Plevna
Varna
Constantinople
Adrianople
Philippopolis
Skutari
Gallipoli
Brusa
Smyrna
Angora
Sinope
Trebizond
Erzerum
Batum
Tiflis
Kars
Sevastopol
Balaklava
Akkerman
Bessarabia
Crimea
Sea of Azov
Caspian Sea
Persia
Armenia
Kurdistan
Mesopotamia
Arabia
Ottoman Empire
Black Sea
Aegean Sea
Mediterranean Sea
Adriatic Sea
Sea of Marmora
Ionian Sea
Rome
Venice
Trieste
Ravenna
Naples
Palermo
Messina
Catania
Sicily
Malta
Corsica
Sardinia
Tuscan Archipelago
Dalmatia
Albania
Montenegro
Ragusa
Cattaro
Cetinje
Durazzo
Monastir
Salonika
Larissa
Corinth
Athens
Patras
Sparta
Navarino
Greece
Crete
Candia
Rhodes
Aegean Is. held by Italy since 1912
Cyprus
Tripoli
Beirut
Damascus
Aleppo
Konia
Tarsus
Adana
Antioch
Mosul
Bagdad
Euphrates
Tigris
Kizil
Arax
Dniester
Dnieper
Bug
Don
Danube
Drave
Theiss
Save
Pruth
Marostransylvania
Nova
Tiber
Arno
Adige
Piave
Po

The treaties concluded at Bucharest between the Balkan kingdoms disposed of practically all Turkey's possessions in Europe. The Sultan was left with Constantinople and a small area to the west, including the important fortress of Adrianople. The great powers, particularly Austria, had insisted that Albania should be made an independent state so as to prevent Serbia from getting a port on the Adriatic. The rest of the former Turkish possessions were divided between Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro. Greece got the important port of Salonika and the island of Crete as well as a considerable area in Macedonia. Bulgaria was extended to the Ægean Sea on the south. Serbia was nearly doubled in area, and Montenegro as well.

The Balkan wars revived all the old bitter rivalry between Austria-Hungary and Russia and led immediately to a general world conflict unprecedented in the annals of history.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE WORLD WAR

European Armaments

In August, 1914, the most terrible and destructive war in the history of Europe began. Never before had millions and millions of men been carefully trained to be ready at a moment's notice to march against the enemy; never before had armies been supplied with such deadly weapons; never before has any war, however serious, so disturbed the affairs of the whole globe. To most people the war came as a horrible surprise. They could not believe that the European governments would dare take the fearful responsibility of entering a conflict which they knew would involve untold woe and destruction. Nevertheless the war came; and since it is probably the most important single event in the whole history of Europe and perhaps of the world, we must endeavor to see how it came about and what are the great questions involved.

After Germany defeated France in 1870–1871, nearly fifty years passed without any of the Western powers' coming to blows with one another. They all felt, however, that they must increase their military strength, and each year they spent vast sums to train and equip soldiers and to build warships. All the European powers except Great Britain adopted the Prussian plan of building up an army by requiring all able-bodied men that the government could afford to train, to enter the army for two or three years, after which they were sent into the reserve to be ready in case of war. A large number of permanent officers were maintained to see that the military education of the soldiers was properly conducted, and a vast amount had to be

spent on rifles, cannon, and other arms, which were being constantly improved and rendered more and more deadly.

The result of this competition in armaments was a tremendous increase in the size of the European armies and a fearful burden of taxation, which the people had to bear. When the war opened, Germany and France had each over four millions of men in their armies, Russia six or seven millions, Austria-Hungary over two and a half millions. Great Britain's forces, on the other hand, numbered less than two hundred thousand, only a few of whom were kept in Europe; since her army, like that of the United States, was recruited by voluntary enlistment and not built up by national conscription.[1]

Great Britain, however, relied for her protection upon her unrivaled navy, which she had maintained at a strength equal to that of any two other powers. There were two reasons for this great navy. England had a much larger population than it was possible to feed from her own farms, and so had to import most of her food. Her manufactures also depended largely upon her commerce. Therefore, if England were defeated at sea, she would be utterly overcome.

Other nations, however, were not willing to grant this supremacy of Great Britain on the ocean. They resented her ability to secure and maintain such widely scattered dominions, and were as anxious as the British to capture distant markets for their business men and to protect their trade by fleets. Germany finally became the most dangerous rival of England. Kaiser William II was from the first interested in the navy, and twenty years before the war he declared that Germany's future lay upon the ocean. So in 1897 a bill was passed for the development of the German navy, which was built up so rapidly that the British began to fear for their supremacy at sea and began to increase the number and size of their ships. Other nations followed Great Britain's example. To the crush-

[1] As a result of the World War, Great Britain introduced universal compulsory military service (conscription), May, 1916.

EUROPE
in 1914
0 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of Miles.
ICELAND
(To Denmark)
Reykjavik
Mt. Hekla
Arctic Circle
Faroe Is.
(To Denmark)
Shetland Is.
Hebrides
Orkney Is.
Bergen
Christiania
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Belfast
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
Dublin
Cork
Liverpool
Manchester
Birmingham
WALES
ENGLAND
London
English Channel
ATLANTIC OCEAN
North Sea
DENMARK
Skagerrak
Kattegat
Hamburg
Berlin
Amsterdam
Antwerp
Brussels
BELGIUM
Cologne
Frankfurt
Dresden
Havre
Paris
Seine R.
Loire R.
FRANCE
Bay of Biscay
Cape Finisterre
Bordeaux
Geneva
Lyon
Rhone R.
Bern
SWITZERLAND
Zurich
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Danube R.
Mt. Blanc
THE ALPS
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Marseille
Corsica
Sardinia
Barcelona
Rome
Naples
Adriatic
PYRENEES
CANTABRIAN MTS.
Douro R.
Madrid
SPAIN
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Tagus R.
Valencia
C. St. Vincent
Guadalquivir R.
Strait of Gibraltar
Malaga
Gibraltar
(Brit.)
Balearic Islands
Mediterranean
Palermo
Sicily
Algiers
Tunis
Fez
AFRICA
Malta
(To Gr. Britain)
Longitude West from Greenwich 0 Longitude East from Greenwich 10

OCEAN
Tundras
Arctic Circle
Pechora R.
URAL MOUNTAINS
Ob R.
SIBERIA
White Sea
Archangel
Dvina R.
Tobolsk
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
Perm
St. Petersburg
VALDAI HILLS
Kazan
Kama R.
Riga
Nizhni Novgorod
Volga R.
Moscow
Dvina R.
RUSSIA
Orenburg
Saratov
Ural R.
ASIA
Aral Sea
Kiev
Volga R.
Dniester R.
Dnieper R.
Astrakhan
Caspian Sea
Pruth R.
Don R.
Sea of Azov
Odessa
Crimea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Bucharest
Sevastopol
Black Sea
MT. ELBRUS
Baku
Tiflis
Trans-Caucasia
Adrianople
Trebizond
Constantinople
Bosporus
Erzerum
MT. ARARAT
Salonika
Dardanelles
TURKEY IN ASIA
Smyrna
Cyprus
(To Gr. Britain)
Crete
Comparative Area.
OHIO
41,040 Square Miles.

ing cost of armies the European nations now added the cost of navies, in which the rapid progress of invention made battleships almost worthless if they were but a few years old.

The Hague Conferences, 1899 and 1907

The enormous cost of armaments, combined with the increasing horror at the thought of a war in which so many millions would be fighting, provided with such terrible weapons as modern science supplies, led many earnest people to try to prevent war altogether. Their efforts were to prove fruitless in 1914, but no one can say that they have been entirely in vain.

The first notable movement toward arranging for a lessening of armaments originated with the Tsar, Nicholas II, when in 1898 he proposed a great conference of the powers at The Hague to discuss the problem. Unlike the Congress of Vienna or the Congress of Berlin, this Peace Conference of 1899 did not meet to bring a war to a close; it came together in a time of European peace to consider how the existing peace might be maintained and military expenditures be reduced.

The Hague Conference did nothing to limit armaments. It is significant, in view of later events, that Germany opposed any such action. In spite of German opposition, however, the conference did establish in outline a court of arbitration to which difficulties arising between nations "involving neither honor nor vital interests" might be submitted. But there was no way of compelling a nation to submit its grievances, and those very subjects that were most likely to lead to war were excluded from consideration.[1] At the second Hague Conference, held in 1907, the limitation of armaments was advocated by Great Britain; but again Germany and Austria caused a postponement of any action on the question. However, certain rules were made in regard to laying mines, the

[1] See next chapter for an account of the Hague Court of Arbitration and the so-called "World Court" provided for in the Treaty of Versailles.

bombardment of unfortified towns, and the rights of neutrals in war. Unfortunately, little or no attention was paid to these limitations after the war began.

Within a decade after the first Hague Conference more than one hundred and thirty treaties were arranged between nations, tending toward maintaining peace by voluntary arbitration. International societies and congresses were, moreover, steadily increasing in number, and there was a general recognition that peoples of different nationalities had innumerable common interests which they should help one another to promote.

National Rivalries and Contentions

The chief underlying conditions which made the World War possible have been outlined in earlier chapters: on the one hand "imperialism," and on the other the "Near-Eastern Question." We have seen how the nations of Europe began in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as rivals for the world's trade, to seize colonies and trading posts in Africa and Asia, and we have also seen how they stood eying each other suspiciously as to which was to profit most from the decline of Turkey. Now we must see how these rivalries, which for almost fifty years had somehow been adjusted peacefully, were allowed in the summer of 1914 to burst out into war.

First, let us recall the exploration and partition of Africa. France had taken most of the Mediterranean shore, and in so doing had stirred, at different times, the rivalry of Italy, Great Britain, and Germany. Its province of Algeria, conquered in 1830 and thoroughly subdued in 1870–1874, had two native states as neighbors—Tunis and Morocco. Claiming that the Tunisian tribesmen were raiding the border, France conquered Tunis in 1881 and thus forestalled Italy, which had intended taking the site of ancient Carthage for itself. This threw Italy into the hands of Bismarck, and it joined Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance.

France and Great Britain fell out when Great Britain got financial control in Egypt, for this was bitterly resented by the French. After the British under General Kitchener had conquered the Sudan in 1898 at the cost of many lives, a French explorer, Colonel Marchand, crossed the heart of Africa from the west and planted the French tricolor at Fashoda, in the upper Sudan, before Kitchener could arrive there. When word of this reached Paris and London, war seemed inevitable, and it would have come had not the French given way. The "Fashoda incident" created a very strained situation between France and England.

This was all changed, however, inside of four years. King Edward VII, who had succeeded to the British throne upon the death of his mother, Victoria, in 1901, was personally fond of France, and the French were fond of him. Skillful statesmen made the most of this friendly feeling, and in 1904 France and England came to an understanding (*entente cordiale*) concerning all their outstanding sources of conflict. This Entente, as it is generally called, turned out to be one of the most important facts in modern history. France was to recognize recent British interests in Egypt, and England those of France in Morocco, which country France had begun to penetrate from the Algerian border. The Entente was hailed with great satisfaction on both sides of the Channel.

England had reënforced herself also by an alliance in 1902 with Japan.[1] She now came to terms with her ancient rival Russia. The Tsar's armies had been gradually penetrating nearer and nearer to India, and a conflict with the British seemed likely to come at any moment. However, in 1907 the two powers settled their dispute by each delimiting a "sphere of influence" in Persia, where their industrial interests had

[1] According to this alliance England was to support Japan if attacked by a third power. The alliance was therefore strictly limited, but was developed in 1905, after the Russo-Japanese War, into a defensive alliance to safeguard the integrity of eastern Asia and India. Japan immediately followed England into war in 1914. "England" here and elsewhere usually means "Great Britain."

conflicted; that is to say, they restricted their control to a certain portion of the country and agreed not to interfere with each other. These two great powers were by no means naturally friendly, for the British hated the Russian autocracy, and London was a place of refuge for Russian revolutionists. The Russian government, on the other hand, disliked the English ideas of liberty and had been wont to exclude English histories.

One great power had been rather noticeably left out of these negotiations—Germany. The Germans thought that the alliances and *ententes* which Edward had encouraged were formed with designs hostile to the Triple Alliance of the Central Powers (Germany, Austria, and Italy) and resolved if possible to break them up. In 1905, therefore, Germany, supported by Austria, objected to the agreement between England and France by which the latter was to have a free hand in Morocco. Germany claimed to have interests there too, and the Kaiser spoke in such a way as to bring on a general "war scare." France agreed to the conference at Algeciras, which gave the French police power in Morocco but guaranteed the latter's independence. By exercising this police power France in the next five years had left little of the "independence" guaranteed to Morocco. So in 1911 Germany sent a cruiser to Agadir, on the coast of Morocco, as a warning to the French to change their policy. War was narrowly averted. France gave up territory on the Congo to Germany in order to be allowed a free hand in Morocco.

The Agadir incident alarmed statesmen in England as well. Everyone saw how near Europe had come to the brink of war. Imperialists in Germany said the Agadir incident had been a failure for Germany, since France was left in possession of Morocco, and they demanded stronger action in future. Imperialists in France and England were angered at the bold way Germany had tried to humble them before the world and were bitter because Germany got any satisfaction at all. The result was that all nations increased their warlike preparations.

Although war between Germany and England and France over the occupation of Morocco was avoided in 1911, another great danger appeared in the strained relations in southeastern Europe. Austria had been permitted by the Congress of Berlin (1878) to occupy the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Austria governed these provinces well for the next thirty years, but the rest of Turkey continued to suffer from misrule. When the Turkish revolution took place in 1908, however, and there seemed to be some chance of a new and strong Turkey, Austria determined to prevent Bosnia and Herzegovina from ever being reunited with it, and so boldly annexed them to the Austro-Hungarian empire.

The neighboring state of Serbia was alarmed and indignant at this, since the annexed provinces were peopled with southern Slavs, and the Serbians had cherished the ambition of uniting with them and the Montenegrins in a new south Slavonic state which would reach from the Danube to the Adriatic. Russia also was angered; but when Germany, Austria's ally, declared that it would support Austria, with arms if need be, Russia, which had not yet recovered from the war with Japan and its own revolutions at home, found itself unable to take a hand in the Balkans. So war between the great powers was again averted for the time being; but the situation made plain the terrible danger that lurked in the Balkan situation, which was finally to plunge the whole world into an unparalleled conflict.

The annexation of Bosnia to Austria was in another respect very serious for Serbia. It shut her off from the sea and made her dependent upon her enemy across the Danube for a market for her farm products. As a result of the Balkan wars (1912–1913), Serbia all but reached the Adriatic through Albania. Again Austria interfered, and had an independent prince set up in Albania to shut Serbia in. The Serbians now hated Austria as bitterly as they had hated Turkey. However, Serbia had nearly doubled her territory, and there was every probability that she would undertake to carry out her former plan of unit-

ing the discontented southern Slavs in the neighboring provinces of Austria-Hungary—Bosnia, Croatia, and Slavonia. Germany was in hearty sympathy with the plans of Austria, but Russia was supposed to be ready to support Serbia and the southern Slavs, the distant kinsmen of the Russians.

Germany now expressed grave fears that Russia would dominate the Balkan regions and perhaps seize Constantinople. This would put an end to a cherished plan of Germany—a railroad from Berlin to Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, which would control a vast trade with the Orient. Germany had already obtained a "concession" from Turkey to construct this road, which was well under way when Serbia, through whose territory the trains from Germany must pass, became a danger.

The year 1913 therefore brought renewed activity in military "preparedness." Germany took the lead by increasing its standing army, and in June, 1913, the Reichstag voted about a billion marks for extra military expenses. France replied by increasing the term of active service in the army from two to three years. Russia made heavy appropriations, and General Joffre, the French commander in chief, was called in to make suggestions in regard to reorganizing the Russian army. German military experts were permitted to train the troops of Turkey. Austria-Hungary strengthened herself with improved artillery; Great Britain devoted large sums to her navy; and even Belgium introduced universal military service on the ground that Germany had been constructing railroad tracks up to her borders, which could be explained only by her purpose to pass through Belgium when the fight began.

Outbreak of the World War in 1914

On June 28, 1914, occurred the event which served as a pretext for war. Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife were assassinated while on a visit to Bosnia. The Serbian government had warned the

archduke not to go there, because it feared that hot-headed pro-Serbian conspirators might attempt an assassination. Austria, nevertheless, asserted that Serbia had favored such conspiracies and was therefore responsible for the crime. It allowed a month to pass, however, before making formal protest.

On July 23 Austria sent Serbia not a protest but an ultimatum. It gave Serbia forty-eight hours in which to agree to suppress anti-Austrian propaganda in journals, schools, or by societies; to dismiss from the army or civil offices anyone obnoxious to Austria; and to allow Austrian officials to sit in Serbian courts in order to bring the guilty to justice. Serbia agreed to all these humiliating conditions except the last, and offered to refer even that to the Hague Tribunal. This Austria refused to do; she was bent on reducing Serbia's power, which she believed to be a deadly menace to the very existence of Austria-Hungary. The decision to invade Serbia was loudly cheered by the Vienna crowds.

The last week of July, 1914, was perhaps the most momentous in the world's history. The Kaiser and his advisers wanted Serbia punished and weakened, and they gave Austria a sort of "blank check" to go ahead and deal with her neighbor as harshly as she wished. There was great danger, however, that Russia would not stand by and see Serbia subdued by Austria. This danger was apparent to the British foreign minister, Sir Edward Grey, who, with the coöperation of the other chief powers, made an effort to induce Germany to warn Austria instead of continuing to encourage her. But the German foreign office was reluctant to interfere with Austria's revenge. The German chancellor did finally expostulate with the government at Vienna, but it was too late. Germany's military leaders seem to have felt that they were ready for war, no matter on how large a scale; and they well knew that Russia had not finished her preparations, nor France either.

As soon as Austria declared war on Serbia, July 28, Russia began rapidly to mobilize, and Germany, claiming this to be an

attack on her, declared war on Russia on August 1. On the same day she demanded of France, Russia's ally, what she proposed to do. The French government replied that France would take such action as her interests might require; whereupon Germany declared war on France on August 3. But Germany was in such a hurry to strike first that her troops were marching on France a day before war was declared. On August 2 they occupied the neutral country of Luxemburg in spite of the protests of its ruler. Germany issued an ultimatum to Belgium, giving her twelve hours, from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M., to decide whether she would permit the German troops to cross the little kingdom on their way to France. If she consented, Germany promised to respect her territory and people; if she refused, Germany would treat her as an enemy. The Belgian government replied to the German demand with great firmness and dignity, urging that her neutrality had been guaranteed by the powers, including Prussia, and that she should resist any attempt to violate it.

It was almost inevitable that Great Britain, as an ally of France, should be drawn into the conflict. On August 1 the German ambassador asked whether England would remain neutral if Germany promised not to violate Belgian territory and urged the British to state the conditions of their neutrality, including a guaranty of the neutrality of France, but this suggestion was firmly rejected. On August 2 the British cabinet informed France that the British fleet would give all protection possible if a hostile German fleet came into the Channel or the North Sea.

Two days later, learning that German troops were making their way into Belgium, Sir Edward Grey sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding assurances within twelve hours that she would respect Belgian neutrality. The German chancellor replied that military necessity required that the German armies cross Belgium. He told the British ambassador in Berlin that England ought not to enter the war just for the sake of "a

scrap of paper." This contemptuous reference to the solemn treaties by which the European powers had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium roused the anger of the entire outside world. It was the invasion of Belgium, perhaps as much as dislike of the Germans, which arrayed the British people solidly behind the government when, on August 4, 1914, it declared war on Germany.

We have already learned enough of the wars, rivalries, suspicions, secret arrangements, and military preparations of the various European powers to see that, as an English historian puts it, "the Old World had degenerated into a powder magazine, in which the dropping of a lighted match, whether by accident or design, was almost certain to produce a conflagration." It is a mistake to imagine that the conflict took the diplomats and military commanders by surprise, because, as we have seen, they had been getting ready for war for years. Bismarck had said that a world war was sure to come and that it would begin in eastern Europe. Each country thought it was in the right and was taking measures for its own protection and honor. Germany and Austria were in great fear of the Slavic peril; that is, of Russia and her support of the outlying Slavic peoples, especially the Serbians. Germany was afraid of France, and France was afraid of Germany. The British could not bear the prospect of a German fleet in the North Sea attacking France nor of a German occupation of Belgium.

Japan speedily declared war on Germany, and early in November, as we shall see, Turkey decided to join the Central Powers. So within three months Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey were pitted against Serbia, Russia, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Montenegro, and Japan. Italy declared herself neutral and not bound to help Austria and Germany, since in the Triple Alliance of 1882 she had pledged her aid only in case her allies were attacked; she considered that they were now the aggressors and that she was free to keep out of the struggle.

When the great powers of Europe found themselves involved in a general war, the issue between Austria and Serbia sank into the background. The popular conviction among the Allies was that Germany, even the Kaiser personally, was responsible for the war. The Germans, on the other hand, were convinced that they were defending the fatherland against a great conspiracy to crush German civilization. They were threatened by a Slavic invasion from the east, which they had long feared; France, they believed, was planning to avenge the humiliation of 1870; Great Britain's hostility they ascribed to her bitter resentment over Germany's growing prosperity and commercial power. Indeed, it was on England chiefly that the Germans centered their hatred, accusing her of being responsible for the war.

Course of the War, 1914–1915

The vast German army advanced on France in three divisions, one through Belgium, one through Luxemburg (also a neutral state) down into Champagne, and the third from Metz toward Nancy. The Belgians offered a determined resistance to the advance of the northern division and hindered it for ten days—a delay of vital importance to the French. But the heavy German guns proved too much for the forts around Liége, which were soon battered to pieces, and Brussels was occupied by the enemy on August 20. The French, reënforced by British troops hastily dispatched across the Channel, made their first stand around Namur. This famous fortress, however, immediately collapsed under the fire of the German siege guns, and the French and British rapidly retreated southward. The western division of the German army had come within twenty-five miles of Paris by September 1. The headquarters of the French government were moved to Bordeaux, and the capital prepared for a siege.

The victory of the French, however, in the famous battle of the Marne, under the leadership of General Joffre, put an end

THE WESTERN FRONT, 1914–1917

Germany, Austria-Hungary, and their Allies
Countries at War with Teutonic Allies

THE EASTERN FRONT, 1914–1917

to the immediate danger of the Germans' occupying Paris. They were compelled to retreat a little way and took up a position on a line of hills running from Soissons to Reims. Here they were able to intrench themselves before the French and English could drive them farther back.

After the Germans had given up their first hope of surprising Paris, they proceeded to overrun Belgium. They captured Antwerp on October 10, and conquered the whole country except a tiny corner southwest of Ostend. It was their hope to push on to Calais and occupy this port nearest to England as a base of attack against the British Isles, but they were checked at the Yser River. They treated the Belgians as a conquered people, exacted huge tributes, partially burned the city of Louvain, brutally executed many civilians, and seized any machinery or supplies they desired. This treatment of a peaceful little neighbor, whose safety from invasion they themselves had solemnly guaranteed, did more to rouse the anger of the rest of the world than did any other act of the German government.

Thus the first three months of the war saw the Germans in practically complete possession of Belgium and Luxemburg, together with a broad strip of northeastern France filled with prosperous manufacturing towns, farms and vineyards, and invaluable coal and iron mines. The Germans were ordered to do all they could to destroy the machinery in the factories, cut down the fruit trees, and wreck the mines, so as to disable and impoverish France in every way possible.

The lines established after the battle of the Marne and the check on the Yser did not change greatly in four years, in spite of the constant fighting and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of men on both sides. The Germans were not able to push very much farther into France, and the allied forces were almost equally unsuccessful in their repeated attempts, at terrible sacrifice of life, to force the Germans more than a few miles back. Both sides "dug themselves in," and trench war-

fare went on almost incessantly, with the aid of machine guns, shells, and huge cannon. Airplanes flew hither and thither, observing the enemy's positions and operations and dropping bombs in his midst. Poisonous gases and liquid fire, introduced by Germany, added their horrors to the situation.

On the Eastern Front the Russians at first advanced far more rapidly than had been expected. They succeeded in invading East Prussia, but were soon driven out by the German general, Hindenburg, and his army. They made their main attack on the Austrians in Galicia, but were forced to withdraw owing to the operations of the German and Austrian armies in Poland. During the winter of 1914–1915 the Russians made fierce attempts to pass the Carpathians and invade Austria-Hungary. They failed, however, on account of lack of supplies, and hundreds of thousands of lives were sacrificed in vain. In August, 1915, Russia was forced to surrender Warsaw and other large Polish towns to the Germans, who pushed on beyond Poland and occupied Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia.

In November, 1914, the Teutonic allies were reënforced by Turkey. The Sultan issued a call to all faithful Mohammedans to wage a holy war on the enemies of Islam. But, contrary to the hopes of Germany, there was no general rising of the Mohammedans in India and Egypt against British rule. Great Britain seized the opportunity to declare Egypt altogether independent of Turkey (December, 1914) and established a new ruler, who was given the title of "Sultan of Egypt" and accepted a British protectorate over his country. The English also invaded Mesopotamia and finally captured the famous old city of Bagdad in March, 1917. The British also forced back the Turkish army in Palestine and succeeded in capturing the holy city of Jerusalem in December, 1917.

An attempt of the English and French in 1915 to take Constantinople proved, however, a terrible failure. In April of that year their forces, greatly strengthened by contingents from

Australia and New Zealand, who had come to the Mediterranean by way of the Rea Sea, tried to force their way up the Dardanelles. The Turks, well supplied with German commanders and equipment, defended themselves with such success that the Allies, in spite of the sacrifice of a hundred thousand men, killed and wounded, were unable to hold their positions on the peninsula of Gallipoli, where they had secured a footing.

In May, 1915, Italy finally decided that she could no longer remain out of the war. It seemed that the opportunity had come to win "Italia Irredenta," those portions of the Italian people still unredeemed from Austrian rule who lived around Trent, in Istria and the great seaport of Trieste, and along the Dalmatian coast. So this added another "front" which the Central Powers had to defend.

The line-up at the opening of the second year of the war consisted of the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey) opposed to Russia, France, Italy, Great Britain (including Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, and East Indian troops, all ready to shed their blood in the cause of the British Empire), Belgium, Serbia, Japan, and the tiny countries of Montenegro and San Marino—twelve belligerents in all, scattered over the whole globe. But the war was not destined to stop at this point. Hundreds of millions of people who were at that time still neutral later took up arms against Germany and her allies.

Blockades and Submarines

It was the conflict on the sea that raised the chief problems for the world at large. At the beginning of the war many people supposed that there would soon be a great and perhaps decisive naval engagement between the German and British fleets, but no such thing happened.[1] The Germans kept their dreadnaughts

[1] On May 31, 1916, a portion of the German fleet ventured out of the Baltic and fell in with a strong detachment of the British fleet. After a few hours the mist, smoke, and darkness put an end to the fight, and no decision was reached.

safe in their harbors, protected by cruisers and mines. The German merchant ships took shelter at home or in neutral ports. So German commerce was soon cut off altogether, and England ruled the ocean. Had it not been for the recently discovered and rapidly improved submarines, or U-boats, as they were popularly called, the Germans would have been helpless against the British control of the seas. It was this new kind of warfare that largely determined the course of the conflict of the nations.

It was easy for Great Britain to block the German ports of Hamburg and Bremen, the egress from the Kiel Canal, and the outlet from the Baltic without violating the established principles of international law. But the German submarines could still steal out and sink British merchant ships and manage now and then to torpedo a great war vessel. Great Britain claimed the right under these new conditions of naval warfare to force all neutral ships bound for the neutral ports of Holland, Norway, and Sweden to stop and be inspected at Kirkwall, in the Orkney Islands, to see if they were carrying contraband of war—namely, munitions and materials to be used directly or indirectly for military ends—and to make sure that their cargoes were not really destined for Germany. The British soon declared that all shipments of foodstuffs to Germany would be deemed absolute contraband of war, since feeding her fighting men was as necessary for her continuing the war as supplying them with munitions.

This was regarded by the Germans as an obvious attempt "through starvation to doom an entire nation to destruction." The German government thereupon declared that the waters around the British Isles should be regarded as within the zone of war, and that within this zone all enemy merchant vessels would be sunk, whether it were possible to save the passengers and crews or not. Neutrals were warned that they would be in great danger if they entered the zone. In former days it was possible for a man-of-war to hold up a vessel and, if the cargo was found to be contraband, to capture or sink the vessel after

taking off the people on board. But the submarine had no room for extra persons, and the Germans found it much more convenient to torpedo vessels without even the warning necessary to enable the passengers and crew to take to the lifeboats.

In February, 1915, German submarines began to sink not only enemy vessels but neutral ones as well, sometimes giving the people on board warning, but often not. The most terrible example of the ruthlessness of the U-boats was the sinking, without warning, of the great liner *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, involving the loss of nearly twelve hundred men, women, and children, including over a hundred American citizens. This act aroused the greatest horror and indignation not only in England and the United States but throughout the rest of the world.

The Campaigns of 1916

The Germans, who had succeeded in forcing back the Russians in Galicia, now undertook the invasion of Serbia. This encouraged Serbia's bitter enemy, Bulgaria, to declare in favor of the Central Powers and to join vigorously in the cruel punishment of her neighbor. In spite of heroic resistance on the part of the Serbians, their country, attacked on two sides, quickly fell into the hands of their enemies. The British and French had landed troops at the Greek port of Salonika but were unable to prevent the disaster.

After the British had made a slightly successful drive northeast of Arras in 1915,[1] the Germans got together a great army under the crown prince and attempted to take the famous fortress of Verdun. But after months of terrible fighting (February to July, 1916), General Joffre was able to push the Germans back and to put an end to the threatened danger.

[1] For a time Great Britain tried to increase its army by voluntary enlistments, and on the whole succeeded very well. But after much discussion and opposition she introduced (May, 1916) a system of universal compulsory military service, which included all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-one (later, fifty).

Shortly after, the long-talked-of Anglo-French drive, the battle of the Somme, began, which was fought for four months (from July to November, 1916) east and northeast of Amiens. Here a new English military invention made its first appearance, the so-called tanks, huge heavily armored motor cars so built as to break through barbed-wire entanglements and crawl over great holes and trenches. The Germans retreated a few miles, but the cost was terrible, since each side lost six or seven hundred thousand men in killed or wounded.

While the battle of Verdun was raging, the Italians, who had made but little progress against the strong Austrian fortifications, were suddenly pushed back by a great Austrian drive in May, 1916. By the middle of June they had not only lost the little they had gained but had been forced to evacuate some of their own territory. At this point the Russians, in spite of the loss of Poland, attacked Austria once more and again threatened to press into Hungary. So Austria had to give way in Italy in order to defend her Galician boundary, and the Italians were able not only to regain what they had lost but to advance somewhat on their way, as they hoped, to Trieste.

The brief success of the Russians encouraged Rumania to join in the war on the side of the Allies, who seemed to be getting the better of the Central Powers. She invaded Transylvania, which she had long claimed as properly hers. The Germans, notwithstanding the pressure on the Somme, immediately sent two of their best generals and, with the help of the Bulgarians, attacked Rumania from the west and south and captured Bucharest, the capital, in December, 1916. About two thirds of Rumania was soon in possession of her enemies, and the Germans could supplement their supplies from her rich fields of grain and abundant oil wells.

For the first time in the history of war men were able to fly high above the contending forces, making observations and engaging in aërial battles. Airplanes are now among the essentials of war, and they bring new horrors in their train. The

Germans made repeated air raids on England, apparently with the mistaken notion that they were going to intimidate the people. They first used the huge dirigible balloons called Zeppelins, but these were later replaced by airplanes of various kinds. They killed two or three thousand English civilians—men, women, and children—in town and country and destroyed some property. Without accomplishing any important military aims, the Germans increased their reputation for needless brutality and led the British, for the safety of their unfortified towns, to make reprisals. British and French airmen dropped bombs on the more accessible German towns like Freiburg, Karlsruhe, and Mannheim, and many military places.

The United States enters the War

Early in the year 1917 Germany's submarine policy and reckless sinking of neutral ships finally involved her in war with a new antagonist, the great and powerful republic across the Atlantic. When the war first broke out, President Wilson declared that the government would observe strict neutrality, and he urged American citizens to avoid taking sides in a conflict that did not directly concern them. But it was impossible to remain indifferent when such tremendous events were being reported day by day. The German newspapers in the United States eagerly defended the Central Powers and laid the responsibility for the war at England's door. On the other hand, the great body of the American people were deeply shocked by the invasion of Belgium, by the burning of Louvain, and by the needless destruction of Reims Cathedral by German guns. They disliked the arrogant talk of the Kaiser, and they felt a quick sympathy for France, who had lent essential aid in the American Revolution. Those of English descent naturally found themselves drawn to the side of Great Britain in the struggle, and those of German descent sympathized with the fatherland.

As time went on, President Wilson dispatched note after note to Germany expostulating against the merciless and indiscriminate manner in which the submarines sent vessels to the bottom, not only British ships, like the *Lusitania*, carrying American passengers, but American ships and those of other neutral nations. There was often no warning until the torpedo actually struck the ship, and not sufficient time even to take to the lifeboats and face the hazards of a troubled sea. The anger of the American people as a whole against Germany became hotter and hotter, and President Wilson began to be denounced for tolerating any diplomatic relations with the German imperial government, even though the Germans promised to reform their submarine policy in September, 1916.

In December, 1916, after the Central Powers had occupied Poland, Serbia, and Rumania, and Germany seemed victorious on all hands, she made proposals for peace. She suggested that the belligerents send representatives to some point in a neutral country to consider the terms of settlement. President Wilson seized this occasion to try to get both sides to state their aims and the terms on which they would bring the war to a close. The Allies refused to negotiate with Germany at the height of her military successes, and the Germans declared that this threw the responsibility for the continuance of the war on the Allies. The war continued, and the United States was speedily drawn into the awful conflict.

At the very moment when the German government was exhibiting an apparent interest in President Wilson's efforts to bring about peace, the German military leaders were planning a new and still more ruthless use of their submarines than they had hitherto made.

In January, 1917, Great Britain, in order completely to cut off supplies from Germany, extended the area which she declared to be in a state of blockade. Germany then proclaimed to the world that to make head against "British tyranny" and England's alleged plan to starve her she proposed to establish

a vast barred zone extending far to the west of Great Britain, in which sea traffic with England would be prevented by every available means. In this way she flattered herself that England, who receives much of her food from distant regions, would soon be reduced to starvation and the war be brought to a speedy end. One of the most irritating features of Germany's plan was that a narrow lane was to be left through which the United States was to be permitted to send one ship a week provided it was painted with bright stripes of color and carried no contraband. By these measures Germany reserved a vast area of the high seas for her submarine enterprises, utterly regardless of every recognized right of neutral nations.

On February 1, 1917, the Germans opened their unrestricted submarine warfare in this great barred zone, and many vessels were sunk. President Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with the German government on February 3. The sinkings went on, and popular opinion was more and more aroused against Germany.

It was finally apparent that war was inevitable. President Wilson summoned a special session of Congress, and on April 2, 1917, read a memorable address to its members in which he said that Germany had to all intents and purposes declared war on the United States. "Our object," he maintained, "is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world, as against selfish and autocratic power." The free and self-governed peoples of the world must combine, he urged, "to make the world safe for democracy," for otherwise no permanent peace is possible. He proposed that the United States should fight side by side with Germany's enemies and aid them with liberal loans. Both Houses of Congress approved by large majorities the proposed resolution that the United States had been forced into war. Provisions were made for borrowing vast sums; old forms of taxation were greatly increased and many new ones were added. In May, 1917,

conscription was introduced, and all able-bodied men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one were declared liable to military service. Preparations were made for training great bodies of troops to be sent across the Atlantic to aid the cause of the Allies, and measures were taken for building ships to replace those destroyed by German submarines.

One result of the entrance of the United States into the war was a great increase in the number of Germany's enemies during the year 1917. Cuba and Panama immediately followed the example set by the great North American republic; Greece, after much internal turmoil and dissension, finally, under the influence of Venizelos, joined the Allies; in the latter half of the year Siam, Liberia, China, and Brazil proclaimed war on Germany. The war had become literally a world conflict. The governments of nearly a billion and a half of the earth's population were involved in the amazing struggle. Thirteen hundred and forty millions of people were committed by their rulers to the side of the Allies, and the countries included in the Central European alliance had a total population of about one hundred and sixty millions. So nearly seven eighths of the population of the globe were nominally at war, and of these nine tenths were arrayed against one tenth, led by Prussia. Of course the vast population of India and China, which greatly swelled these figures, had little or no part in the active prosecution of the war. And after the Russian revolution destroyed the old government, that country, with its millions of inhabitants, by the end of 1917 could no longer be reckoned an active factor.

As for the countries which remained neutral, they included a population of perhaps one hundred and ninety millions. Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden were far too close to Germany to risk breaking with her, although it would seem that many of their people disapproved of her conduct. Spain and a number of Latin-American states, including Mexico and Chile, held aloof. But no country could escape the burdens and afflictions of a war of such magnitude.

Real neutrality was almost impossible. Everywhere taxes and prices rose, supplies were cut off, and business was greatly dislocated.

The Russian Revolution of 1917

In March, 1917, one of the chief belligerent countries, Russia, underwent such a great internal change as greatly to modify the course of the war and the problem of peace. We must now consider the astonishing revolution which led to the overthrow of the old Russian autocracy and the retirement of Russia from the war.

The world conflict had hardly opened in 1914 before it revealed the corruption, the weakness, the inefficiency, indeed, in some cases, the treason, of the Tsar's court and his imperial officials. The millions of Russians who perished in the trenches of the Eastern Front in vain endeavors to advance into Germany and Austria-Hungary or to stem the tide of German invasion were ill supported by their government. The Duma became unmanageable; and in December, 1916, it passed a resolution declaring that "dark forces" were paralyzing the government and betraying the nation's interests. The Tsar then proceeded to dismiss the liberals from the government and replace them by the most unpopular tyrannical officials he could find. He seemed to be declaring war on every liberal movement and reverting to the methods of Nicholas I. There was a distressing scarcity of food in the cities and a growing repugnance to the continuance of the war.

Bread riots broke out in Petrograd[1] in March, 1917, but the troops refused to fire on the people, and the Tsar's government found itself helpless. When ordered to adjourn, the Duma defied the Tsar and called for the establishment of a provisional government. The Tsar, hastening back to Petrograd from the front, was stopped by representatives of the new

[1] The new Slavic name given to St. Petersburg at the opening of the war.

provisional government on March 15, 1917, and induced to sign his own and his son's abdication in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael. But Michael refused the honor unless it were authorized by a constitutional assembly; this amounted to an abdication of the Romanovs, who had ruled Russia for more than three centuries. There was no longer any such thing in the world as "the autocrat of all the Russias." The Tsar's relatives renounced their rights, his high officials were imprisoned in the very fortress of Peter and Paul where they had sent so many revolutionists, and political prisoners in Russia and Siberia received the joyous tidings that they were free. The world viewed with astonishment this abrupt and complete collapse of the ancient system of tyranny.

A revolutionary cabinet was formed of men of moderate views on the whole, but Alexander Kerensky, a socialist and representative of the Workingmen's and Soldiers' Council, was made minister of justice. The new cabinet declared itself in favor of many reforms, such as liberty of speech and of the press; the right to strike; the substitution of militia for the old police; universal suffrage, including women. But the more extreme socialists were not content and demanded an immediate peace on the ground of "no annexations, no indemnities, and self-determination." The failure of the government to heed their demand caused uprisings in Petrograd and much disorder among the soldiers. Through their Council of Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates the socialists began to exercise great power. By July, 1917, all the more moderate members of the provisional government had been forced out and their places taken by socialists. A desperate attempt to lead the flagging Russian troops forward to victory against the Austrians utterly failed, and was followed by further uprisings on the part of the radicals.

At length the storm which had long been gathering broke. Early in the revolution a council of workmen's and soldiers' deputies, or "soviet," had been set up in Petrograd and had

begun to dispute the authority of the Duma. All over Russia similar soviets, or councils of workmen, soldiers, and peasants, were instituted. Finally, in November, two leaders, Lenin and Trotzky, who had returned from exile, supported by soldiers and soviets, overturned the Kerensky government and founded instead a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The faction which engineered this enterprise was known as the Bolsheviki, or "majority men," a term given to them when they constituted a majority of the Russian socialists.

The Bolsheviki proceeded at once to abolish private property in land and capital and to institute a "communist system." They denounced the war as an "imperialist struggle for trade and territory," and they called upon the warring powers to join them in a peace conference. Receiving no replies, they opened the Russian archives and published secret treaties drawn up by the European powers before and during the war which showed up the selfish aims of the old-fashioned diplomacy.

Then, late in December, the Bolsheviki opened peace negotiations with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk, on the eastern Polish boundary. Meanwhile Finland and the Ukraine, which comprises a great part of southern Russia, declared themselves independent and established governments of their own. So on March 3, 1918, the representatives of the Bolsheviki concluded a peace with the Central Powers in which they agreed to "evacuate" the Ukraine and Finland, and surrendered Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and certain districts in the Caucasus, all of which were to exercise the right of self-determination by establishing such government as they pleased. Shortly after, the capital of Russia was transferred from Petrograd to Moscow. The result of this peace was that Russia was dismembered and all the western and southern regions were, for the time being, under the strong influence of the Germans. (For a further account of Russian conditions see final chapter.)

Campaigns of 1918

In addition to the increase in Germany's enemies the chief military events of 1917 were the following: In March the Germans decided to shorten their lines on the Western Front from Noyon on the south to Arras on the north. They withdrew, devastating the land as they went, and the French and English were able to reoccupy about one eighth of the French territory that the enemy had held so long. The Germans were disturbed by fierce attacks while establishing their new line of defense; but in spite of great sacrifices on the part of the French and British, including the Canadians, who fought with special heroism, this "Hindenburg" line was so well fortified that it held and, with slight exceptions, continued to hold during the year. Attempts to take the important mining town of Lens and the city of Cambrai were not successful for another year, but the terrible slaughter went on, and tens of thousands were killed every week.

On March 21, 1918, the Germans began a great drive on the Western Front with the hope of gaining a decisive victory and forcing the Allies to sue for peace. Germany was in a hurry, for she knew that her U-boat warfare was not reducing England to starvation, that the United States troops were beginning to arrive in ever-increasing numbers, and that the German plans for getting supplies from Russia were meeting with little success. Moreover, the German people were suffering all sorts of bitter hardships and might at any time begin to complain that the final victory which the Kaiser had been promising from the first and the hope of which had sustained them was too long in coming.

For some days the Germans were victorious and were able to push back the British almost to Amiens. But the French rushed to the aid of their allies; the drive was checked, and Amiens, with its important railroad connections, was saved. No previous conflict of the war had been so terrible as this,

and it is estimated that over four hundred thousand men were killed, wounded, or captured. The Germans, however, regained only the devastated territory from which they had retired a year before, and their fierce efforts to advance farther failed.

The grave danger in which the Allies found themselves finally convinced them that their safety lay in putting all their forces—French, British, Italian, and the newly arriving troops from America—under a single commander in chief. It was agreed that the French general Ferdinand Foch (appointed March 28, 1918) was the most likely to lead them all to victory, and this confidence in his skill and character was justified. Almost immediately matters began to mend.

Everyone knew that the Germans would soon make a second drive somewhere on the long front of one hundred and fifty miles, but at what point the Allies could only conjecture. The new blow came April 9, when the Kaiser's armies attempted to break through the British defenses between Arras and Ypres, with the intention of reaching Calais and the English Channel. The suspense was tense for a time; but after retreating a few miles the British made a stand and were ordered by their commanders to die, if necessary, at their posts. This checked the second effort of the Germans to break through. In the latter part of May the German armies attempted a third great attack, this time in the direction of Paris. They took Soissons and Château-Thierry, which brought them within about forty miles of the French capital. In June they made a feebler effort to extend to the south the strip of territory gained in the first drive. Here they were opposed for the first time by the American troops, who fought with great bravery and ardor.

The first contingent of United States troops had arrived in France in June, 1917, under the command of General Pershing, who had a long and honorable record as a military commander. He had in his younger days fought Indians in the West; he served in the Spanish-American War and later subdued the fierce Moros in the Philippine Islands.

By the first of July, 1918, about a million American troops had reached France and were either participating actively in the fierce fighting or being rapidly and efficiently trained. They had taken their first town by the end of May, 1918, and gained great distinction for themselves by coöperating with the French in frustrating the German attempt to break through at Château-Thierry. Northwest of that town they forced back, early in June, the picked troops of the Kaiser sent against them.

During the following weeks the Germans lost tens of thousands of men in minor engagements, and finally, on July 15, 1918, made a last great effort to take Reims and force their way to Paris, but this drive was speedily turned into a retreat. During the following month the combined efforts of the French and Americans served to drive the Germans far back from the Marne and put an end to their hopes of advancing on Paris. The French general Mangin warmly praised the valor of the Americans during these "splendid" days when it was his privilege to fight with them "for the deliverance of the world." Then the British began an offensive on the Somme, east and south of Amiens. By the end of September the Germans had been pressed back to the old Hindenburg line; even this was pierced at some points, and the allied troops were within a few miles of the Lorraine boundary.

The American troops in France, numbering slightly over two million men before the armistice was signed, on November 11, 1918, were scattered along the whole Western Front, and it is estimated that nearly one million four hundred thousand actually took part in the fearful struggle against the Germans.[1] It is impossible to mention here all the battles in which they fought valiantly, side by side with the French or the British, as the hosts of the enemy were rapidly pushed back. In the middle of September the Americans distinguished themselves

[1] The United States proposed to have at least four million men in France by June 30, 1919. The limits of the draft were extended so as to include all able-bodied men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

by taking the St. Mihiel salient and bringing their lines within range of the guns of the great German fortress of Metz. Reënforcing the British, they performed prodigies of valor in the capture of the St. Quentin canal tunnel far to the north, where thousands of lives were sacrificed. In the Argonne Forest, and especially in the capture of Sedan on November 7, the United States troops played a conspicuous part. In the months from June to November, 1918, the battle casualties of the American expeditionary forces—killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners—amounted to about three hundred thousand.

Collapse of the Central Powers, 1918

On the other fronts the fortunes of war were turning in favor of the Allies. Germany, instead of being able to get supplies from demoralized Russia, met resistance at every point. The people of the Ukraine resented her domination and began to look to the Allies to assist them in forming their new republic. In Finland civil war raged between the "White Guard" (Nationalist) and the "Red Guard" (Bolshevik), while British and American troops on the Murman coast to the north coöperated with the anti-Bolsheviki to oppose the extremists then in power.

At Vladivostok, far away across Siberia, British, Japanese, and American forces landed with the object of working westward through Siberia and, as they hoped, restoring order. Among the enemies of the Bolsheviki was a Czechoslovak army, composed of former Austrian subjects who had deserted to fight in Russia for the Allies.

As a part of the great forward movement organized by General Foch, the combined Serbian, Greek, British, and French forces in the Balkans once more became active in Serbia and rapidly pushed back the Bulgarians, who, with the help of the Germans and Austrians, had overrun the country three years before. Neither Germany nor Austria was in a position to send

aid to their ally, and on September 29, 1918, the Bulgarians threw up their hands and asked for an armistice. This was granted on condition of absolute surrender. The defection of Bulgaria proved decisive; and it was clear that Turkey could not keep up the fight when cut off from her Western allies, and that Austria-Hungary, who had spent the best of her strength and was now open to invasion through Bulgaria, must soon yield.

Turkey was the next to give up the fight. In Palestine General Allenby followed up the capture of Jerusalem (December, 1917) by the relentless pursuit of the Turkish armies. The English and French speedily conquered Syria, taking the great towns of Damascus and Beirut, and the Syrians could now celebrate their final deliverance from centuries of cruel subjugation to the Turks. The Turkish army in Mesopotamia was also captured by the British. So Turkey was quickly forced to follow Bulgaria's example and accepted the terms of surrender imposed by the Allies (October, 31).

Thus the loudly heralded "peace drive" of the Germans had turned into a hasty retreat on the Western Front, and their Eastern allies had dropped away. The oncoming troops from the United States, steadily streaming across the Atlantic, brought new hope to the Allies; for the Americans were fresh and brave and full of enthusiasm, and they were backed by a great and rich country, which had thrown its well-nigh inexhaustible resources on the side of the war-weary Allies in their fight against the Central Powers.

The Germans began to see that they had been grossly deceived by their leaders. The ruthless use of the U-boats had not succeeded in subduing England, but it had aroused this new and mighty enemy across the Atlantic, whose armies found themselves able to cross the ocean in spite of Germany's submarines. The Germans had forced shameful treaties upon the former Russian provinces with the purpose of making the poor, discouraged, and famine-stricken people help toward support-

ing the German armies. This plan failed to relieve German distress; her commerce was ruined, her people were starving, her national debt was tremendous, and she had no hope of forcing her enemies to pay the bills. She was deserted by both her Eastern allies. Austria-Hungary alone continued feebly to support her against a world coalition brought together in common hostility toward her policy and aims.

But even Austria-Hungary was fast giving way. Torn by internal dissension and the threatened revolt of her subject nationalities, disheartened by scarcity of food and by the reverses on the Western Front, she sent a note to President Wilson on October 7 requesting that an armistice be considered. By the end of the month her armies were retreating before the Italians, who, in a second battle on the Piave, not only swept the Austrians out of northern Italy but quickly occupied Trent and the great seaport of Trieste. On November 3 Austria-Hungary unconditionally surrendered, accepting the severe terms that the Allies imposed on her.

But Austria-Hungary had already disappeared from the map of Europe. The republic of the northern Slavs, Czechoslovakia, had been proclaimed, and the southern Slavs, or Jugoslavs, no longer recognized their former connection with Austria and Hungary. Hungary itself was in revolt. Under these circumstances the Hapsburg ruler of Austria-Hungary resigned all share in the government (November 11).

Germany herself was on the verge of dissolution, as it proved. Early in October it seems to have become apparent to her military rulers that there was no possibility of stopping the victorious advance of the Allies, and the imperial chancellor opened a correspondence (transmitted through the Swiss minister) with President Wilson in regard to an armistice. She expressed her willingness to "make peace on the basis of President Wilson's Fourteen Points." In an address on January 8, 1918, President Wilson had outlined a program of world peace which embodied fourteen principles which he

regarded as essential.[1] President Wilson made it plain that the Allies would not stop their advance except on condition that Germany surrender, and on such terms that she could not possibly renew the war. "For," the President added, in his third note, "the nations of the world do not and cannot trust the word of those who have hitherto been the masters of German policy."

The German War Council, including the Kaiser and crown prince, made a vain effort to save the old system. General Ludendorff, who had had command of the German armies, was sent off, and the Allies were informed that far-reaching changes in the government had been undertaken which assured the people a complete control not only over the government but over the military power (October 27).

Soon the German government began to deal directly with General Foch in its eagerness to secure an armistice at any cost, for a great social revolution was imminent. Moreover, the allied forces were closing in on Germany all along the line from the North Sea to the Swiss boundary, and the Germans were retreating with enormous losses of men and supplies. On November 9, to the astonishment of the world, it was announced that His Majesty, Emperor William II, had abdicated. He soon fled to Holland, and the glory of the Hohenzollerns was a thing of the past. The king of Bavaria had been forced off his throne the day before, and all the monarchies which had composed the German Empire were speedily turned into republics. On November 10 a revolution took place in Berlin; and a socialist leader, Friedrich Ebert, assumed the duties of chancellor with the consent of the previous chancellor and all the secretaries of state. Even Prussia had become a republic over night. The German Empire of Bismarck and William I was no more.

[1] The "Fourteen Points" included freedom of the seas in peace and war, removal of economic barriers and reduction of armaments, restoration of Belgium, and the formation of an association of nations for the purpose of insuring the independence of small nations as well as large.

End of the World War

Meanwhile negotiations in regard to an armistice were in progress. Representatives of the German government made their way across the lines and met General Foch on November 8 and received the terms which the Allies had drawn up.

The Germans were required to evacuate within fifteen days all the territory they had occupied: Belgium, northeastern France, Luxemburg, and Alsace-Lorraine. Moreover, the German forces were to retire beyond the eastern bank of the Rhine, and that portion of Germany which lies west of the river was to be occupied by troops of the Allies. All German troops in territories formerly belonging to Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, and Russia were to be immediately withdrawn. Germany was to hand over her war vessels, her submarines, and her vast supplies of war material, and put her railroads and all means of communication on the left bank of the Rhine at the disposal of the Allies. She was to free all war prisoners and restore the money and securities taken from Belgium. Moreover, the blockade of Germany was to be continued throughout the Peace Conference. These and other provisions were designed to make any renewal of the war on Germany's part absolutely impossible. Hard as were the terms, the Germans accepted them promptly, and on November 11 the armistice was signed at Rethondes, in the forest of Compiègne. The World War was over at last. The Germans, however, believed that in the end they would secure a fair peace based on the Fourteen Points.

It is estimated that during the World War nearly sixty million men were mobilized. Of these nearly eight million were killed in battle and over eighteen million were wounded. Of those who recovered, perhaps a quarter or more were permanently mutilated or crippled. The loss among the civilian populations was tremendous owing to famine, disease, and massacres, amounting to perhaps seventeen million lives.

The national debts of the states participating in the war were in the case of the Central Powers raised from about five to forty-four billions of dollars, and in the case of the Allies from twenty-one to eighty-six. Five thousand six hundred and twenty-two British merchant ships were sunk, nearly half of them with their crews on board. The French Chamber of Deputies calculated that the damage done by the Germans in northern France amounted to almost thirteen billions of dollars. These figures give some hint of the really unimaginable costs of the conflict in life and treasure.

War is regarded by some people as a harsh but efficient way of settling serious issues between nations; but it is a method which arouses terrible animosities, often accentuates chronic difficulties, and creates new forms of discord and disorder. The World War was no exception.

CHAPTER XXXVII

EUROPE SINCE THE WORLD WAR

The Treaty of Versailles, 1919

The Allies selected Paris and the neighboring Versailles as the meeting place for their representatives, who convened in January, 1919, to settle the terms of peace.

Five great powers—Great Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan—organized the conference and took the leading part in all the discussions and in the final decisions at Versailles. But there were delegates from the British dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and also from India; from Brazil and eleven others of the Latin-American republics; from Belgium, Serbia, Greece, and Rumania; from the new states of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hejaz; from the republic of China, Siam, and the African state of Liberia. So thirty-two states, scattered all over the globe, had their representatives on hand to take part in, or at least watch, the momentous proceedings.

Germany, Russia, and the powers that had remained neutral were excluded from the conference.

In spite of the protests of the lesser powers the representatives of France, Great Britain, and the United States, namely, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and President Wilson,—popularly known as the "Big Three,"—met in secret council and made all the important decisions. They urged that their nations had really borne the chief responsibility of winning the war and, further, that it was impossible, in view of the conflicting interests of many of the powers, to accomplish the tremendous work of the conference in a large assembly with public meetings.

A draft of the peace treaty was presented to the delegates on May 5, 1919, and after considerable discussion was accepted by them. By the terms of the treaty Germany was reduced in size, for she was required to give up Alsace-Lorraine to France and to cede a great part of her provinces of Posen and West Prussia to the Polish republic. Other smaller territories were to be permitted to join Poland on the one hand, or Denmark on the other, if their people so voted. The important port of Danzig was to be a free city. Germany was to surrender all her colonies. Those in Africa were turned over to Great Britain or France as "mandatories," to be administered under the authority of the League of Nations. Her possessions in the Pacific were assigned either to Australia or to Japan. In order permanently to weaken Germany as a military power she was required to surrender a great part of her navy and all her airships and submarines. Her army was never to exceed one hundred thousand men, and compulsory military service was abolished. Great limitations were placed on the manufacture and buying of arms and munitions. The Allies were to occupy the west bank of the Rhine until the terms of the treaty should be carried out.

The most difficult question of the treaty was to determine the amount of *reparations* which the Allies were to demand as their bill for the damage which the Germans had done during the war. This was to be decided by a Reparations Commission of the Allies, which was to report two years later as to how much Germany could and should pay. Germany was required to make an initial payment of some five billions of dollars. She was to build ships for the Allies to replace those that she had sunk. She was to deliver large quantities of coal to France as payment for the destruction of French coal mines. Various British, Italian, and American economic experts foresaw that the terms of the treaty would be very difficult to carry out and would hinder the financial recovery of Europe. This proved to be the case.

When the Germans learned the terms of the treaty, they denounced it as revengeful and ruinous to their country. They sent long protests to the conference, maintaining that the treaty violated President Wilson's Fourteen Points, that the failure to fix a definite sum for the final bill of reparations would mean slavery for them, and that the immediate payments proposed by the Allies exceeded all the wealth which Germany possessed. They asserted that even if they were forced to sign the treaty, its obligations could never be fulfilled. They also refused to acknowledge their sole responsibility for the war.

Nevertheless, the attempts of the Germans to secure any considerable modification of the terms of the treaty were futile. On June 28, 1919, their representatives reluctantly signed the document in the historic palace of Versailles, where, in 1871, the German Empire had been proclaimed.

Founding of the League of Nations

The first section of the treaty with Germany is devoted to the Covenant of the League of Nations, one of the most significant documents in history. President Wilson never deviated from his plan for incorporating the League as the leading provision in the treaty of peace, so firmly did he believe that such an association of nations was the only effective guaranty against the recurrence of wars. The League was to be composed of those fully self-governing states and colonies that should be able to give effective guaranties of their intention to observe its obligations. In the beginning, however, Germany and her allies were temporarily excluded, and Russia and Mexico were not to be invited to join until they had established thoroughly stable governments. The League was to have its permanent offices and staff at Geneva, and was to be organized with an *Assembly* in which each of the members, including the British dominions, should have one vote, and a *Council* made up of the representatives of the five great powers (the United

States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan), to which others might later be added, and of four states to be selected from time to time by the Assembly. The Assembly and the Council were to meet at stated intervals, the Council at least once a year. All important decisions were to require a *unanimous* vote.

Any war or threat of war, or any matter affecting the peace of the world, is declared in the Covenant a matter of concern to the whole League. Members of the League agree to submit any dispute which might lead to war either to arbitration or to investigation by the Council or the Assembly. If they submit the dispute to *arbitration*, they pledge themselves to carry out the award made and not to resort to war. If they submit the dispute to *inquiry*, the Council or the Assembly must fully investigate the matter and, within six months after the submission of the dispute, make a report and recommendations in regard to it. Should the report and recommendations be unanimously agreed to by all the powers except those which are parties to the dispute, the latter agree not to go to war in the matter. If the recommendations are not unanimous, the parties to the dispute pledge themselves in no case to resort to war for three months after the report is made.

Should any member resort to war in disregard of these agreements, it is deemed to have committed an act of war against all the governments and states which are members of the League, and the latter agree to sever all commercial and financial relations with the offending state and to prohibit all intercourse between its citizens and their own. The members of the League also undertake (Article X) to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of one another.

The Covenant of the League provides also for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice,—or "World Court," as it is often called,—to hear and determine any dispute of an international character and to give an advi-

sory opinion on any question referred to it (see pages 494 ff., below). The Council of the League was to prepare plans for the reduction of armaments and for the control of the manufacture of munitions and implements of war. All treaties were hereafter to be registered with the League and made public.

Certain territories inhabited by backward peoples formerly belonging to the Central Powers—parts of the Turkish empire, of Central and Southwest Africa, and of the southern Pacific islands—are declared to be under the guardianship of the League. By a system of so-called *mandates* the guardianship of such peoples is to be intrusted to "advanced" nations, as *mandatories*, which are to seek to promote their well-being and development. The governments acting as mandatories are to report annually to the League.

The treaty also provided for a very important International Labor Organization, with its own assembly representing both capital and labor. It has no resemblance to the socialistic "International," representing labor alone (see page 574). Its duty is to see that social reforms in one country are not frustrated by backward conditions in neighboring states. Its only means of action is through international negotiations or the influence of its recommendations upon public opinion.

Although President Wilson was its chief promoter, there was much difference of opinion in the United States as to the wisdom of joining the League of Nations. Many felt that in so doing the United States would sacrifice some of its sovereignty and would risk becoming involved in what the opponents of the League called "entangling alliances." They commonly assumed that the expression was to be found in Washington's Farewell Address. It is true that in the precarious situation in 1796 Washington did warn his countrymen "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." It was not, however, until five years later, at the opening of the Napoleonic wars, that Jefferson used the word attributed to Washington. There was, of course, little

analogy between joining the League and the dangers of old-fashioned offensive and defensive alliances which Washington and Jefferson had in mind. Moreover, the Covenant provides in its first article that any nation may withdraw "after two years' notice of its intention to do so." So the alliance is not, strictly speaking, permanent.

Then, its friends urged that the United States would be free within the League to block any measure of which it disapproved. They argued that the hazards of staying out were greater than those of entering it. Ex-President Taft said:

> The argument that to enter this covenant is a departure from the time-honored policy of avoiding entangling alliances with Europe is an argument that is blind to the changing circumstances in our present situation. The war itself ended that policy. . . . We were driven into it because, with the dependence of all the world upon our resources of food, raw material, and manufacture; with our closeness, under modern conditions of transportation and communication, to Europe, it was impossible for us to maintain the theory of an isolation that in fact did not exist. It will be equally impossible for us to keep out of another general European war. We are, therefore, just as much interested in stopping such a war as if we were in Europe.

When the treaty was submitted to the United States Senate for ratification, most of the Republican senators declared that various amendments and reservations were essential, especially in the case of the League of Nations. The chief objections raised were that Article X might involve the United States in war over European territorial disputes in which it had no interest; that it might be forced into war without the consent of Congress; that the Monroe Doctrine was not adequately secured; that the British Empire had five votes, since its various members—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—were assigned each a vote in the Assembly; that the United States might sacrifice its complete control over immigration, the tariff, and other matters of international import.

After prolonged and bitter discussions the treaty was sent back to the President in March, 1920, unapproved, and the United States remained outside the League of Nations.

The adoption or rejection of the Treaty of Versailles (including the Covenant of the League of Nations) was an issue in the presidential election of 1920. The Republican party, which opposed ratification, was victorious and elected its candidate, Warren G. Harding. On July 2, 1921, President Harding signed a joint resolution of Congress declaring that war between Germany and the United States was at an end. Six weeks later a brief treaty was signed in Berlin by which the Germans agreed to give the United States all rights and advantages provided for in the Treaty of Versailles except those specially excluded at the wish of the United States.

The New Map of Europe

The dissolution of the ancient Austrian empire was one of the most striking results of the war. As the great conflict came to a close the northern Slavs, the Czechs, formed themselves into the republic of Czechoslovakia; the southern Slavs, into the kingdom of Jugoslavia; and Hungary, much reduced in size, became an independent state. Austria itself was converted into a small republic, with an area less than that of Ireland. The successor of old Francis Joseph (who died in 1916), Charles I, was unable to maintain himself as ruler either of Austria or of Hungary, and died in exile, 1922. Thus the rôle of the Hapsburgs in European history, which had lasted for centuries, was brought to an end.

Austria, which had been the center of the empire, now that most of her former sources of revenue were cut off, found herself in a sad plight. Bankrupt, with no means of meeting the cost of her new government, she was unable to carry on the thorough reorganization necessary to continue to exist as an independent republic.

After a three years' struggle against starvation and revolution, with her currency reduced to one-fifteen thousandth part of its previous value and with no prospect of improvement, the League of Nations devised a means by which she obtained a loan of a hundred and thirty-five million dollars guaranteed by western European governments. In collaboration with the Austrian government a committee of the League

THE AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC AND THE HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

undertook to rehabilitate the distracted state. Her financial affairs were straightened out, her currency stabilized, and her income made equal to her expenditures.

In Hungary a very transient republic was established under the presidency of Count Karolyi, a statesman who, himself a great landowner, was eager to have the vast estates of Hungary divided among the peasants. His government was overthrown by a communist revolution, which was speedily succeeded by a counter revolution in which (March, 1920) Admiral Horthy

30 Longitude 20 West 10 0 Longitude 10 E
EUROPE
Scale of Statute Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
ICELAND
Reykjavik
Mt. Hekla
SHETLAND IS.
NORWAY
Bergen
Oslo (Christiania)
Göteborg
SWEDEN
DENMARK
Copenhagen
BRITISH ISLES
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Belfast
IRISH FREE STATE
Irish Sea
Dublin
Manchester
Liverpool
Kiel
Hamburg
Amsterdam
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
London
English Channel
Antwerp
BELGIUM
Brussels
Cologne
Berlin
Dresden
LUXEMBURG
Saar Basin
Paris
Seine R.
FRANCE
Munich
Prague
CZECHO
Vienna
AUSTRIA
SWITZERLAND
Bern
Geneva
Lyon
Bordeaux
Trieste
Venice
Fiume
San Marino
MONACO
Marseille
Oporto
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Madrid
Barcelona
Valencia
Palos
Gibraltar (Br.)
Malaga
Str. of Gibraltar
CORSICA (Fr.)
SARDINIA (Italy)
BALEARIC IS. (Sp.)
Rome
Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
Palermo
SICILY
Mt. Etna
MALTA (Br.)
AFRICA
60
50
40
W
United States
0 Longitude 10 East

30 Greenwich 40
50
60
70
NOVAYA ZEMLYA
Archangel
White Sea
Dvina R.
Lake Ladoga
Leningrad (Petrograd)
Finland
Revel
Riga
Vilna
WHITE RUSSIA
Moscow
Volga R.
Nizhni Novgorod
Samara
Ufa
Ural R.
Kiev
Dnieper R.
UKRAINE
Odessa
Sea of Azov
Astrakhan
CASPIAN SEA
Mt. Elbrus
CAUCASUS Mts.
GEORGIA
Tiflis
Alexandropol
Baku
ARMENIA
Batum
BLACK SEA
Bucharest
Danube R.
BULGARIA
Balkan Mts.
Constantinople
TURKEY
ANATOLIA
AEGEAN SEA
CRETE
COMPARATIVE AREA
400 MILES
250 MILES
PENNSYLVANIA
45,000 SQ. MILES
THIS RECTANGLE CONTAINS
100,000 SQ. MILES
from 30 Greenwich 40

ame into power as "regent," and frustrated all attempts to arry out much-needed reforms. Hungary, unlike Austria, emained nominally a monarchy with a vacant throne.

In 1923 Hungary applied to the League for aid in restoring ier financial situation. The Council appointed a committee vhich, having studied the situation, arranged a reconstruction oan. This resulted in the balancing of the budget and even howed a surplus for 1924–1925. The financial affairs of Hungary have been administered by a commissioner eneral working in coöperation with the League of Nations.

JUGOSLAVIA, THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS, AND SLOVENES

The republic of Czechoslovakia (composed of the ld kingdom of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, and Slovakia) has been the ost prosperous of the "succession states" of Austria-Hungary. The Czechs nd Slovaks constitute bout 60 per cent of the population, and there are three and half million Germans and a million Hungarians and members of other minor racial groups. The Germans formed a eparate party in parliament and insisted on using their own anguage. The old hostility between Germans and Slavs continued under the new government.

The brief career of Jugoslavia, "the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," has not been so fortunate as that of er sister state to the north. While the movement for the nion of these southern Slavs is an old one, there has been ome difficulty in amalgamating so many different peoples—erbs, Croats, Slovenes, Dalmatians, Bosnians, Herzegovinans, and Montenegrins—into a harmonious state. Although

of the same race, they have been separated for many centuries, and differ widely in their social, political, and religious ideas and in their education. All elements combined, however, under the new king, Alexander, and with increased resources has come a new era of prosperity. The Jugoslavs also had a good deal of trouble with Italy, which insisted upon keeping Fiume, inhabited by many Italians and serving as an outlet to the sea. This matter was finally settled by giving Fiume to Italy and the neighboring port of Baros to Jugoslavia.

The greatest of the Slavic lands except Russia was the restored Poland. She was unhappily so intent on adding territory which she claimed belonged to her by "historic right" that she was soon at war with Czechoslovakia, Russia, the Ukraine, and Lithuania. The war with Russia (1919–1920) was particularly serious and ended with a victory for the Poles. Russia ceded a considerable part of White Russia to Poland, and the Ukraine was forced resentfully to give up its claims to eastern Galicia. The result was that Poland, with the help of France, became, as of old, a large country with a bare majority of Poles, the rest of the population being made up of Germans, Lithuanians, White Russians, and Ukrainians, in addition to a large Jewish element.

In Russia the communist leader, Trotzky, organized a powerful "Red Army" to put down the attempts to overthrow the Bolsheviki. The counter-revolutionists, under the command of generals like Kolchak, Deniken, and Wrangel, were encouraged by the Allies to undertake campaigns in Siberia and Russia against the Soviet government; but in this fierce civil war the Bolsheviki were victorious and remained in power.

Four former provinces of the Russian empire are now numbered among the free and sovereign nations of the world. Finland, which had been an independent duchy under the Tsar as its duke, had long opposed the attempts of the Russian government to reduce its rights. With the fall of Nicholas II it naturally seized the opportunity to secure its entire independence.

The other three neighboring provinces (Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), which had suffered for centuries from the intrigues and invasions of their more powerful neighbors, were able to secure recognition as independent republics and, along with Finland, were admitted to the League of Nations.

Turning now to the Balkan Peninsula, we have seen that the western portions had been consolidated into the Jugoslavic kingdom, with the Serbian monarch as its ruler. The Allies punished Bulgaria, Serbia's old enemy on the east, by transferring to Jugoslavia certain border regions and cutting off Bulgaria from the Ægean sea by depriving her of western Thrace. Moreover, they awarded to Rumania the rich farm lands of the upper Dobrudja between the Danube and the Black Sea. In spite of these losses and her reparation payments Bulgaria recovered rapidly, owing partly to the sturdy peasants, who own the lands they work, and partly to the freedom from military expense and the peaceful utilization in reconstruction work of the small army permitted her by the treaty.

Although Rumania was overwhelmed by the Germans, she nevertheless emerged from the war with an area twice the size of the former kingdom. With the concurrence of the Allies she annexed Bessarabia, which had belonged to Russia since 1812; Bukowina, which had belonged to Austria; Transylvania and other portions of Hungary. Greater Rumania now includes Rumanians, Serbians, Hungarians, Russians, Bulgarians, and Turks. In order to keep her hold on all these alien peoples, the parliament voted a number of reforms. These included universal suffrage and a redistribution of the land. Large estates were divided up, and part of the land assigned to the peasants, who were to pay a portion of the cost while the state paid the rest. Citizenship was granted to native-born Jews.

The remains of the Ottoman empire in Europe had, as a result of the Balkan wars (1912–1913), been reduced to Constantinople and a little patch, eastern Thrace, to the west. During the war Egypt, the Hejaz, Mesopotamia, Syria, and

Palestine had in various ways altogether escaped from Turkish control. When the armistice was concluded, the Allies demanded that Turkey give up its chief seaport, Smyrna, as well as eastern Thrace, to the Greeks. This aroused a nationalist movement in Turkey under a vigorous leader, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, who made Angora, not Constantinople, the headquarters of the new government. The nationalists refused to recognize the settlement which the Sultan made with the Allies. Kemal's army repulsed the Greeks, who had marched into Asia Minor from Smyrna. The nationalists received a certain support from Italy and France, whose business men hoped to gain oil and trade concessions.

Although the Greeks had entered the World War late they kept on fighting the Turks after its close, with the hope of getting Smyrna and eastern Thrace. The Allies, who for a time had encouraged these aggressions, finally thought best to make terms with the new Turkish government at Angora. The Greeks seem to have attributed their military failure to their sovereign and to his ministers, several of whom were executed. In March, 1924, monarchy was abolished and a republic set up.

After the expulsion of the Greeks the Turkish nationalists stood firmly for what they considered their rights. The Treaty of Lausanne (July, 1923) with the Allies recognized Turkey's possession of Smyrna, Constantinople, and eastern Thrace. The Dardanelles, however, were to be open to the ships of all nations. The nationalists then forced the Sultan to leave Constantinople, and established in October, 1923, a Turkish republic, with its capital at Angora. A few months later the members of the House of Osman, which had ruled the Turks for seven centuries, were exiled and went the way of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanovs. The caliphate was abolished, and the Turks repudiated the ancient combination of religion and politics which the caliph represented.

When in 1815 a great congress of diplomats assembled at Vienna to rearrange the map of Europe, their chief ambition

was to restore the old régime and place once more on their thrones the monarchs who were "legitimately" entitled to rule. They determined ruthlessly to suppress any uprisings on the part of reformers who wished to secure constitutions or checks on the powers of their lawful sovereigns or who dreamed of uniting kindred peoples into national states. But despite all these plans and precautions the reformers gradually succeeded in adding, during the nineteenth century, no less than seven new independent constitutional national states to the family of European nations: Serbia, Greece, Belgium, the German Empire, the kingdom of Italy, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

A hundred years later, at Versailles, the representatives of the great powers undertook once more to remake the map of Europe. At this conference, however, Austria no longer dictated to a vanquished France, but victorious France to a defeated and divided Austria: thus "time brings in his revenges." Metternich, Talleyrand, and Alexander were gone, but Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and the Italian statesman Orlando were there; and since in the meantime European history has grown into world history, there was also the representative from the great republic across the Atlantic, whose armies had now for the first time fought on the battlefields of Europe. These diplomats no longer placed their faith in kings and emperors but in government by the people, and they welcomed the establishment of republics in place of the ancient monarchies. Moreover, they believed in what they called the right of nations to self-determination. The political reconstruction of Europe since 1918 is largely the result of these two ideas of government, democracy and self-determination, which would have stood for revolution and ruin to the conservative gentlemen at the Congress of Vienna.

The most startling changes in the map of Europe are those which have taken place in central and eastern Europe, where the proud dynasties of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs, and the Romanovs have disappeared, and their empires have be-

come republics under socialist and communist leaders. Hardly less astonishing is the dissolution of the ancient Ottoman empire and the appearance, in its place, of the republic of Turkey. Seven new republics (Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia, and, federated in Soviet Russia, White Russia, Ukraine, and Transcaucasia) have been formed from the western and southern fringe of the Tsar's realms; while the larger part of the Hapsburgs' territory (Austria-Hungary) has been taken to restore Poland, to enlarge Italy, Rumania, and Jugoslavia, and to make the new republic of Czechoslovakia.

Question of Reparations and Disarmament

One of the most difficult questions which continued to perplex Europe was that of the indemnity to be paid by Germany. This was fixed at about fifty-six billions of dollars (February, 1921), but the German government replied that it was absolutely impossible for it to meet such a demand, even in annual installments extending over forty-two years. Great Britain was in favor of compromise; but French and Belgian troops invaded (January, 1923) the industrial region of Germany beyond the Rhine, especially the cities along the Ruhr valley, in order to collect from Germany on the spot. The Germans resisted, and the plan was financially a failure. The following autumn the German government agreed to submit the question of the indemnity to an international tribunal for the purpose of determining how much was to be paid and in what manner.

In November, 1923, the Reparations Commission therefore voted to name two committees of experts to determine (1) the means of improving Germany's financial situation at home and (2) the amount of German wealth which had been sent abroad and how it could be recovered. General Charles G. Dawes, the former Director of the Budget of the United States, was made chairman of the first committee, and the former chancellor of the British exchequer, Reginald McKenna, chair-

man of the second committee. These committees of experts handed in their reports in April, 1924, calling for annual payments on Germany's part subject to increase proportionate to her economic prosperity. The French, British, and German governments promptly expressed their approval of the reports, and the Germans indicated their willingness to accept them. An American, Mr. Gilbert, was selected to supervise the execution of the plan. The total sum for reparations, however, was not fixed.

The fact that the United States government refused to join the League of Nations did not prevent efforts on the part of the government to reduce the expense and danger of armaments. A conference of foreign governments was invited by President Harding to meet in Washington in November, 1921. Delegates were sent by the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal. The chief maritime powers—Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan—agreed to cease building new battleships for a period of ten years and to maintain a ratio on the part of Great Britain, the United States, and Japan of five-five-three. The powers also agreed not to interfere in China by seeking special advantages and concessions.

The League of Nations, 1920–1925

The first section of the Treaty of Versailles provided, as we have seen, for the foundation of the League of Nations and contains the constitution, or Covenant of the League. In November, 1920, the Assembly held its first session in Geneva. There were present at this meeting the representatives of forty-two countries which had enrolled in the League. Since that time the membership has grown to fifty-five.[1] Regular

[1] At the opening of 1926 the League's membership included all Europe except Russia; all North and South America except the United States, Mexico, and Ecuador; and, including the mandates, it embraced all Asia except Turkey and Afghanistan, and all Africa except Egypt.

meetings of the Council and Assembly have been held since the establishment of the League, and numerous committees and commissions charged with investigation and the preparation of technical reports have met from time to time.

In judging the accomplishment or the failure of the League during its first years it should in fairness be remembered that it began its work at a time when Europe was politically, economically, and financially distracted and when national feelings were at a high pitch of sensitiveness and excitement. The League was not *super*national (that is, it had no power to impose a formulated policy on its members) but *inter*national and could proceed only as fast as its government members agreed among themselves to go. The League had no magic to dispel the old national interests and conflicting outlooks, but it furnished a permanent organization for promoting common interests and the progressive development of international understanding.

The work of the League has included the settlement of *special* problems that have come before it, such as the arbitration of political controversies, reconstruction work, and the like, and the organization and development of *permanent* auxiliary departments foreshadowed in the Covenant of the League. These departments are of two kinds: technical organizations, dealing with Finance and Economics, Transit and Health; advisory committees, occupied with Military Questions, Disarmament, Mandates, Traffic in Women and Children, Opium, and Intellectual Coöperation.

The League has been called upon to settle a number of political disputes which threatened the peace of Europe, most of them having arisen from conditions following the war. A rupture between Sweden and Finland over the sovereignty of the Åland Islands in the Baltic Sea was averted by giving the islands to Finland and reserving certain rights to the Swedish population. Serious differences between Poland and Lithuania over their undefined boundary line were settled, and similarly

a dispute between Poland and Germany in Upper Silesia, and still another between Poland and Czechoslovakia. The boundaries of Albania, which had been left undetermined by the Peace Conference, were adjusted, and the status of the Memel territory within Lithuania, which had caused bitter feelings, was peaceably established. A threatened war between Italy and Greece was averted, partly through the efforts of the League. Later a conflict between Bulgaria and Greece was fended off, and the Special Inquiry Commission submitted to the Council in December, 1925, the recommendation that Greece be required to pay to Bulgaria the sum of two hundred and nineteen thousand dollars for the invasion of her territory. This decision was accepted by Greece.

The International Financial Conference called by the League at Brussels in 1920 for the discussion of the financial situation in Europe furnished a policy which was useful in the reconstruction work that the League was called upon to perform in Austria and Hungary. The so-called "Dawes plan" for Germany was largely modeled upon the successful experiments of the League in these countries.

It was also of assistance in extending help to a million and a half refugees scattered over Europe penniless and without homes. It took up the case of the Greek refugees, nearly a million of whom poured into Greece from Anatolia after the advance of the Turks to Smyrna. Through the efforts of a commission appointed by the League these unfortunates were provided with homes, food, clothing, and medical supplies; and after securing the control of the necessary land, the commission established in Macedonia a whole new community of these victims. The humanitarian activities of the League have resulted also in a world agreement to curb the traffic in opium and other harmful drugs, and in practical measures to combat contagious diseases. The colonial powers exercising mandates are held publicly accountable for any alleged exploiting or mishandling of native peoples.

The World Court

One of the most notable achievements of the League has been the inauguration of a new World Court provided for under Article 14 of the Covenant. This reads:

> The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly [of the League].

In accordance with this article the Council in February, 1920, appointed an advisory committee of jurists of international reputation to draft a plan for the proposed court. Among the members of this committee was Mr. Elihu Root, who acted in a *personal* capacity and not as the *official* representative of the United States.

The Committee of Jurists began their sessions on June 16, and by August they had prepared and approved unanimously the draft Statute, which they then sent to the Council. With some amendments the Statute was approved by the Assembly on December 13 and was then embodied in a formal "Protocol" to be submitted to the members of the League of Nations for their adoption. It was also provided that the Protocol should remain open for the signature of states which later desired to become members of the Court. When the Assembly met the following year, twenty-eight states had ratified the Protocol, and it went into effect. The judges were elected in September, 1921, and the Court held its first session at the Hague on January 30, 1922. By the close of 1924 the Court had been accepted by forty-eight countries.

The Statute of the Court is divided into three chapters dealing with organization, competence, and procedure. The opening paragraph of the Statute reads:

A Permanent Court of International Justice is hereby established in accordance with Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Court shall be in addition to the Court of Arbitration organized by the Conventions of the Hague of 1899 and 1907, and to the special Tribunals of Arbitration to which States are always at liberty to submit their disputes for settlement.

The Court is to be composed of a body of independent judges elected, regardless of their nationality, from among persons of high moral character who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices or are jurisconsults of recognized competence in international law. The Court is to consist of fifteen members: eleven judges and four deputy judges. The members of the Court are elected by the Assembly and the Council from a list of persons nominated by nations or groups of nations according to a plan similar to that devised by the first Hague conference (see next page). This method is arranged to secure as competent and varied a representation as possible from both a legal and a national standpoint. Members of the Court are elected for nine years and may be reëlected. The seat of the Court is to be at the Hague. Unless otherwise provided, an annual session of the Court shall be held beginning on June 15 and continuing as long as is deemed necessary to finish the cases on the list.

"The jurisdiction of the Court comprises all cases which the parties refer to it and all matters specially provided for in treaties and conventions in force." An acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court is, in general, voluntary, but by signing an optional clause members may also agree to accept the Court's jurisdiction as obligatory in all disputes concerning (1) the interpretation of a treaty; (2) any question of international law; (3) the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (4) the nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.

Of the forty-eight states which have joined the World Court twenty-three have accepted the obligatory jurisdiction of the Court and the number is steadily growing.

The first serious discussion of a plan for an international court of arbitration had taken place at the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907; and in spite of the failure to organize a real court, they at least made the peoples of the world familiar with the name—if not the reality—of a permanent court. The Hague Conference of 1899 did little more than provide for a court of arbitration which, according to the plan prepared by the British and accepted by the Conference, should consist of a *list* of distinguished jurists nominated by the various nations, from which particular judges might be selected as arbiters as occasion arose. The Second Hague Conference, although it recognized the desirability of substituting compulsory for voluntary arbitration and the necessity of a *permanent* court of judges devoting their entire time to the business of the court, nevertheless made little progress. All the nations agreed, however, as to the *need* for such a court, and Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who happened to be at the Hague, donated a large sum of money for the construction of a Peace Palace as the home of the Court of Arbitration.

The differences between the older Court of Arbitration at the Hague and the newer World Court, organized under the auspices of the League of Nations, are therefore easily recognized. The original Hague court furnished only the framework of a tribunal with a list of names from which different judges were selected for each case. The first is a court of *arbitration*, the second a court of *law*. The Hague court has sought to find a compromise between the claims of the parties to a dispute, while the new Court aspires to apply a body of strict legal rules. The Hague Court of Arbitration lacks continuity in its work; whereas the new Permanent Court, owing to its permanence, promises to build up, through its decisions, a new and more authoritative body of international law.

The Permanent Court of International Justice is a "world court" since it is open to all the nations regardless of their relation to the League of Nations or of their having signed the Protocol establishing the Court. Both Hungary and Germany submitted cases to the Court before their entrance into the League. The Court is in no sense a "League court"; it was established by special treaty, and its Statute, as has been said, was drawn up by an independent body of experienced jurists and forms no part of the Covenant or of the Treaty of Versailles. The Council and the Assembly, it is true, elect the judges, but from the list of candidates supplied to them by the various countries which are members of the Court. The finances of the Court are kept separate from the financial administration of the League. The Court is an independent judicial tribunal free from political influence, and nations not wishing to involve themselves with the League of Nations may contribute to its support and avail themselves of its services.

From the first many Americans wished the United States to become a member of the World Court whether they believed it wise to enter the League or not. On February 24, 1923, President Harding proposed the acceptance of the Protocol by the United States, but with the following reservations formulated by Secretary Hughes:

In joining the World Court the United States should not have any legal relation with the League; it should participate in the choice of judges and bear its fair part of the expenses; lastly, the Statute of the Court should not be amended without its consent.

President Harding did not advocate signing the clause accepting compulsory jurisdiction. President Coolidge in his message to Congress in December, 1925, added a fifth condition to the previous reservations: That the United States is "not to be bound by advisory opinions rendered without our consent." After answering various criticisms which have been made of the Court, President Coolidge says: "We can con-

tribute greatly to the advancement of our ideals by joining with other nations in maintaining such a tribunal."[1]

The Assembly has taken a further step by adopting unanimously a resolution leading toward the progressive codification of international law. This resolution directs the Council "to convene a committee of experts not merely possessing the required qualifications but also, as a body, representing the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world." This committee, after "consulting the most authoritative organizations which have devoted themselves to the study of international law," is to prepare a provisional list of the subjects of international law the regulation of which by international agreement seems to be most desirable and realizable. This list is to be given to the members of the League, who are to report to the Council the procedure which may be followed in securing appropriate action.

Plans and Pacts to end War; the Locarno Treaties

The most difficult problem which the League has had to face is the question of disarmament. Any attempt to persuade a nation to reduce the military forces on which it has been wont to depend for protection arouses all the old-time fears and suspicions and is met with strong opposition. This is not due to perversity but to a feeling that it is not safe to do so. The third Assembly of the League recognized the principle that the two problems of *disarmament* and *security* were inseparable; it is not possible to expect a nation which is in danger of attack to reduce its armaments without falling back upon some guarantee of security, such as the engagement in the Covenant of help if attacked (Art. 16). The Hague Conferences called for the purpose of disarmament failed, and the Washington Conference of 1921, although it established a set ratio of strength for battleships, did not regulate land

[1] Among the judges chosen to compose the World Court is John Bassett Moore, a distinguished American authority on international law.

armaments and failed to do more than denounce the most effective method of destruction—chemical warfare.

These obvious difficulties have led to the consideration of other solutions, such as compulsory arbitration and the *outlawing* of war. A number of plans have been brought before the League. In 1924 a Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance (based on plans of Lord Cecil and French experts), which was drawn up by the Temporary Mixed Commission of the League, composed of civilian and military members, was accepted by some members of the League but rejected by others. Its main features were that *it declared aggressive war a crime.* The signatories were to assist the victims of "aggressive" war and were also to reduce their armaments in proportion to the security offered by the treaty. But "aggression" was not defined!

An alternative plan, known as the "American plan," was drawn up by an unofficial committee of Americans and became an official document of the League. The great contribution of this plan was its *definition of an aggressor* as one who goes to war without obeying a summons to an appropriate international tribunal, or without accepting the unanimous decision of the Council. The plan also called for international inspection of armaments and for recurring conferences on disarmament in which outsiders (for instance, the United States) could join. These two plans became the basis for the Geneva Protocol of the Assembly of 1924, which outlawed aggressive war and plainly stated that a nation is an aggressor who refuses the alternatives for war. Aggressive war was for the first time in history officially declared to be a crime; and although defense was regarded as legitimate, it was not to be based on the individual judgment of one party to a controversy. The Protocol called upon the members of the League to come to the assistance of a nation attacked. The states were to decide in what ways they would assist, having due regard to geographical position and peculiar situation. At the Council meeting in March, 1925, the British government announced that although

it sympathized with these objects, it could not accept the Geneva Protocol because a *general* obligation to assist the victim of aggression put too heavy a burden upon a world empire so long as the United States was not included in the League. It urged that a more satisfactory solution would be to supplement the Covenant by making special arrangements to meet special needs; bringing together those nations whose differences might lead to war by means of treaties framed with the sole object of maintaining between themselves an unbroken peace.[1]

Following along the general lines of the British proposal a conference of the representatives of Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, and Czechoslovakia met at Locarno on October 5, 1925, for a discussion of the great question of security which had agitated the Western nations ever since the World War. The signing on October 16 of a Treaty of Mutual Guaranty between Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Italy (commonly called the Security Pact), and six other treaties, brought this unusual conference to a happy close. For the first time since the war Germany became a party to an international undertaking for the maintenance of peace, and was received on a friendly footing with the other nations in a common enterprise. A clearer notion of the treaty will be gained by reading the words of the agreement itself:

The President of the German Reich, his Majesty the King of the Belgians, the President of the French Republic, and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the seas, Emperor of India: his Majesty the King of Italy:

Anxious to satisfy the desire for security and protection which animates the peoples upon whom fell the scourge of the war of 1914–1918;

[1] This whole matter is made very clear by Professor James T. Shotwell in *International Conciliation*, No. 208, March, 1925. Professor Shotwell was chairman and one of the most influential members of the committee responsible for the "American Plan," which had great influence upon later plans for peace.

Taking note of the abrogation of the treaties for the neutralization of Belgium, and conscious of the necessity of insuring peace in the area which has so frequently been the scene of European conflicts;

Animated also with the sincere desire of giving to all the signatory Powers concerned supplementary guarantees within the framework of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the treaties in force between them;

Have determined to conclude a treaty with these objects and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries: . . . who having communicated their full powers found in good and due form have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1. The High Contracting Parties collectively and severally guarantee . . . the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France and the inviolability of the said frontiers as fixed by or in pursuance of the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919, and also the observance of the stipulations of Article 42 or 43 of the said Treaty concerning the demilitarized zone.[1]

ARTICLE 2. Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

This stipulation shall not, however, apply in the case of:

1. The exercise of the right of legitimate defense, that is . . . resistance to a violation of the undertaking contained in the previous paragraph, or to a flagrant breach of Article 42 or 43 of the said Treaty of Versailles . . . or the assembly of armed forces in the demilitarized zone. . . .

2. Action in pursuance of Article 16 of the Covenant [calling for protection of an attacked nation by the other members of the League].

3. Action taken as the result of a decision taken by the Assembly or by the Council of the League. . . .

[1] Articles 42 and 43 of the Treaty of Versailles establish a demilitarized zone between France and Germany on the right bank of the Rhine extending fifty kilometers from the bank of the river. Germany may not construct nor maintain fortifications on the left bank or on the right bank west of the demilitarized zone and may not maintain armed forces nor engage in military maneuvers nor mobilize in this area.

ARTICLE 3. In view of the undertakings entered into in Article 2 of the present treaty, Germany and Belgium and Germany and France undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down herein all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy.

Any question with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their respective rights shall be submitted to judicial decision, and the parties undertake to comply with such decision.

All other questions shall be submitted to a conciliation commission. If the proposals of this commission are not accepted . . . the question shall be brought before the Council of the League of Nations, which will deal with it in accordance with Article 15 of the Covenant of the League. . . .

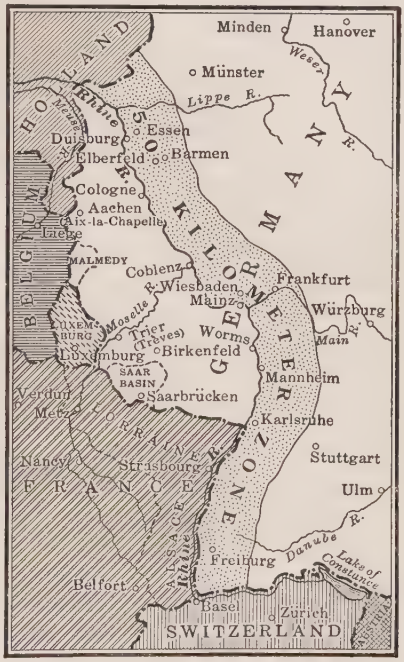
ARTICLE 4. If one of the High Contracting Parties alleges that a violation of Article 2 of the present treaty or a breach of Article 42 or 43 of the Treaty of Versailles . . . is being committed, it shall bring the question at once before the Council of the League of Nations.

2. As soon as the Council . . . is satisfied that such violation . . . has been committed it will notify its findings to the Powers signatory of the present Treaty, who severally agree that in such case they will each of them come immediately to the assistance of the Power against whom the act complained of is directed. . . .

Article 4 goes on to say that in case of a *flagrant* aggression, such as actual invasion, the signatory powers promise to come *immediately* to the aid of the party attacked. Even then, both parties agree to accept the decision of the Council of the League if all the other countries are unanimous. Article 5 deals with aggression not flagrant and is therefore the kernel of the treaty if it is to *prevent* war. It applies the definition of the "American Plan," making the test of aggression the refusal to accept the decision of courts for legal matters or conciliation tribunals for other controversies. Thus the very principles which the Geneva Protocol of 1924 attempted to extend to all nations are here accepted in Western Europe at least. The treaty shall be registered at the League of

Nations and shall go into force as soon as all the ratifications have been received and Germany has become a member of the League of Nations. The treaty was signed at London on December 1, 1925.

The arbitration treaties between Germany and France, Germany and Belgium, Germany and Poland, and Germany and Czechoslovakia, which form a part of the Locarno settlement, provide that all disputes between these nations which cannot be settled by the usual methods of diplomacy may be submitted to an arbitral tribunal or to the Permanent Court of International Justice. Before resort is made to arbitral procedure the dispute may, by agreement, be brought before a permanent international commission styled the Permanent Conciliation Commission. This commission, which in each case is to be appointed within three months after the treaty has entered into force, shall be composed of five members, two of them chosen from the respective nationals of the powers directly concerned and the three remaining chosen by agreement from the nationals of third powers. The special task of this commission is to gather information and elucidate the questions in dispute and to endeavor to bring the parties to an agreement. The commission shall draw up a report of its labors, which must be terminated within six months.



MAP OF THE PEACE ZONE

Two further treaties were signed between France and Poland and between France and Czechoslovakia, who agree reciprocally to aid one another if, in case of a violation of the Security Pact, they are attacked by Germany.

The Locarno treaties mark a great advance in international relations and are regarded by some as the beginning of a series of such conventions which may break down old barriers between nations and perhaps eventually lead to something like a federation of states of Europe. However this may be, the Locarno settlement is unique in many ways. In the first place, the Security Pact is notable for its simplicity and directness and for making no concessions to "national honor." The signatories pledge themselves to coöperate to maintain peace rather than to establish, as of old, a defensive alliance against a real or an imaginary enemy. This is not a secret treaty to preserve the "balance of power," but a frank and published agreement to "seek peace and pursue it." Furthermore, the parties chiefly concerned associate with themselves other nations as guarantors to see that their contracts shall be kept. Above all, they voluntarily promise to submit their future disputes to a third party—a commission, a court, or a council—and to abide by the decision of this body.

One of the provisions of the Covenant of the League requires that all treaties made between members must be registered at the League, otherwise they shall be invalid. Over a thousand treaties and conventions have so far been deposited at Geneva, where they can be examined by all. "Public diplomacy" is furthered by the frequent meetings of statesmen in Geneva, for their deliberations, instead of being filed away in various foreign offices, as formerly, are reported by the daily papers all over the world. In this way information is furnished upon topics hitherto not generally understood. All this works for the education of public opinion, the promotion of peaceful adjustment, and of a widespread sentiment against resorting to war.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

NEW CONCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

The Fundamental Rôle of Knowledge in Human Affairs

It was suggested at the very beginning of Volume I that "History in the fullest sense of the word includes all we know about everything that man has ever done or thought or hoped or felt. It is, indeed, the limitless science of past human affairs." The tendency of historical writers to follow certain traditions in the choice of the historical facts which they include in their books was noted at the opening of the present volume. There have been many protests against the older routine of selection on the part of those who felt that history as usually presented was needlessly arid and well-nigh profitless for the reader. Among these objectors Herbert Spencer and Buckle may be mentioned. John Richard Green undertook his well-known *Short History of the English People* (1874) with the hope of establishing a more edifying system of selection from the inexhaustible treasury of the past. He says:

> I have preferred to pass lightly and briefly over the details of foreign wars and diplomacies, the personal adventures of kings and nobles, the pomp of courts, or the intrigues of favorites, and to dwell at length on the incidents of that constitutional, intellectual, and social advance in which we read the history of the nation itself. It is with this purpose that I have devoted more space to Chaucer than to Cressy, to Caxton than to the petty strife of Yorkist and Lancastrian, to the Poor Law of Elizabeth than to her victory at Cadiz, to the Methodist revival than to the escape of the Young Pretender.

In our attempt to review the history of western Europe we have had no such simple task as Green set himself; for many peoples have had to be considered, not just one, and, as we have seen, the Eastern nations of Europe had to be brought in, and finally the whole globe, so far as it has become involved in the wonderful extension of European civilization, commerce, and conquest. We have had to deal not so much with each nation individually but rather with the interplay of all the various peoples in creating the situation in which we find ourselves today. As we have studied the unfolding of events since the break-up of the old Roman Empire we have, perhaps somewhat unconsciously, been tracing the story of our modern ways of doing and thinking. As we perceive how our familiar habits have come about we can note their peculiarities and their novelty as compared with earlier customs and beliefs. It is through a long process of change that humanity has reached its present stage; and change not only continues to take place but is nowadays more rapid and wide-reaching than ever before. This is largely due to the vast expansion of human knowledge.

Many writers have compiled what they entitle the "elements," "essentials," or "foundations" of history, but few of them give any attention to the real basis of all civilization, whether primitive or advanced. It is at bottom *knowledge*, and *skill based upon knowledge*, that have gradually changed men from beasts, wandering in the woods and fields, to human beings such as we know today. This all-essential fact escaped the older historians, who, like most of their fellow men, took the knowledge of their period for granted and forgot that it had a history which really underlies all other history. *All discoveries and inventions are made by individuals of a rare type, not by peoples as a whole.* But tribes and nations will sometimes accept new ideas and arts when shown how to think or do, and the more thoroughly they assimilate new ways, the more likely they are to forget to whom they owe them.

The boastful patriot would find himself in a tragic predicament if from the supposed achievements of his own proud people were deducted what they really owed to other nations and to other times. This has been well set forth by Graham Wallas:

> If every human being now alive were to lose all the knowledge and habits which he had acquired from preceding generations (though retaining unchanged all his own powers of invention and memory and habituation), nine-tenths of the inhabitants of London or New York would be dead in a month, and ninety-nine per cent of the remaining would be dead in six months. They would have no language to express their thoughts, and no thoughts but vague reverie. They could not read notices, or drive motors or horses. . . . Even in the country districts men could not invent, in time to preserve their lives, methods of growing food, or taming animals, or making fire, or so clothing themselves as to endure a northern winter.

Only the very lowest savage, far more ignorant than any on earth today, would be sufficiently animal-like to pull through if he lost what others had contributed to his resources.

In the United States the language commonly used is English. It is an importation, and remains much the same as it was before the colony at Jamestown or at Plymouth was founded. We can all readily read the writings of Shakespeare or Bacon, or the Authorized Version of the Bible, all of which belong to the earliest period of English colonization. English was originally brought into Britain from West Germanic countries, later to be modified and enriched by Norman French and especially by Latin. The Romans in their turn depended much on the Greeks in the development of their language and literature; the Greeks owed their alphabet to that of the Phœnicians, which came mayhap from the Egyptians; and the Egyptians based their writing on picture signs common to various savage tribes. National pride and historical knowledge rarely go hand in hand, as we shall see later. A nation may perhaps repay its war debts in money or securities, but never its inescapable obligations to other nations for almost everything it has. It

might, however, come to realize the stern fact that it is but a pensioner feeding at the table of accumulated human endeavor. And no more chastening lesson has history to impress than this.

The life of mankind is so complicated that it is no easy matter to describe it even in its simplest, most primitive forms; and no single historical writer can claim to trace the genesis and development of more than a very few of its present aspects. Nevertheless a consistent effort has been made in the preceding chapters to include the history of knowledge along with other matters which are commonly recognized as belonging in a work of this character. Some description has been given of the beliefs of the Middle Ages and of the criticism of these which began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But it is obvious enough that many fundamental alterations have taken place during the last century and half in the notions entertained by thoughtful people in regard to man's origin and the nature of the world in which he is placed. This change might be measured by comparing the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, published in three volumes in 1768–1771, with that in twenty-nine volumes issued in 1910–1911. Yet ten years later three more volumes had to be added to catch up with the advance of knowledge and the striking developments of a single decade!

Those few who have the time and the disposition to engage in scientific investigation of man and his world often reach divergent conclusions. Most of them agree upon certain matters; but new discoveries are constantly being made, and there are always a good many highly important points upon which those who have studied hardest are not at one. Moreover, all new discoveries are tentative and subject to revision and amplification. No one familiar with the present trend of scientific research believes that we have as yet made more than the beginning of a beginning in learning about ourselves and the universe in which we are placed. Each new discovery reveals

unforeseen mysteries and intricacies which stimulate further quest. So, in spite of all the progress in the past, there now seems more to be discovered than Bacon and Descartes could have dreamed possible when they haled mankind into the path of modern research. It is a well-founded guess that in the matter of scientific information the encyclopædias of a hundred and fifty years hence will differ far more profoundly from those of the present day than the best of our time differ from that of Diderot.

As for the great mass of mankind, while they are profoundly affected by modern inventions, they still harbor a good many of those ideas which began to be vigorously called in question three hundred years ago. Most men are far too preoccupied with the immediate concerns of life to give much thought to the suggestions of scientists, scholars, and philosophers. So the old views of authority, heavenly and earthly, continue to prevail, with some slight modifications. There are always plenty of popular leaders to approve and encourage continued faith in the old beliefs, which they refuse to reconsider in the light of new knowledge. Those who teach children have to be cautious in imparting ideas which the scientifically minded might think true and important, lest these new views arouse the distrust of parents who cling to older and, to them, permanently settled conceptions of man's origin and duty. In reviewing the history of knowledge since the eighteenth century in this and the following chapter, only those great alterations of opinion are mentioned which the majority of the critically minded would accept today.

In the present chapter the modern discoveries in regard to the world in which man lives and his general position in the whole order of nature will be sketched; in the next chapter the modern ways of studying man himself, his nature, achievements, and possibilities, will be described; and finally, in the last chapter the various theories of economic and social reorganization will be reviewed, culminating in the attempts

made in Russia and elsewhere to accomplish an abrupt and thoroughgoing revolution in human affairs. We shall begin with the newer discoveries in regard to the great age of our earth.

The Great Age of the Earth

Up until the middle of the nineteenth century practically everyone in Europe believed that the earth had existed for not more than five or six thousand years. This was the Christian tradition based upon the account of the generations of man in Genesis. St. Augustine declared confidently in his *City of God* that not six thousand years had elapsed since the creation of man. God, it was believed, had created not only the earth but the stars, together with all the species of plant and animal life, as well as the first man and the first woman, during the successive days of a single week. An Anglican clergyman, Archbishop Usher, gave definiteness to this idea in his elaborate *Annals of the Old Testament,* published in Latin in Cromwell's time (1650–1654). After a careful study of the Scriptures he reached the conclusion that the terrestrial animals and Adam were created on Friday, October 28, 4004 B.C. Eve too was made from Adam's rib on the same day, after Adam had given names to the animals. Usher's chronology was inserted by an unknown hand in the margin of the Authorized Version of the Bible and so became familiar to millions of readers, who accepted the glosses and the text as equally authoritative.

For this belief an entirely different one has been substituted by geologists, paleontologists, anthropologists, and astronomers. There is some difference of opinion as to how the earth originally came about[1] but none about its tremendous age from a human standpoint. While geologists do not all reach the same conclusions in regard to the period when the earth became suitable for plant or animal life, they agree that all things have

[1] For a short statement of modern theories of the earth's origin see *The Evolution of the Earth*, edited by R. S. Lull, or any good recent geology.

come to their present state through a *gradual* process extending through hundreds of millions of years. There is no means as yet of settling this matter. It may have required a hundred million or a thousand million years for the sedimentary rocks to be laid down in the beds of ancient seas. Many of these rocks contain fossils which indicate that plants and animals have existed on the globe from the very remote periods when some of the earlier strata were formed. Accordingly it seems not unlikely that for at least a hundred million years the earth has had its seas and its dry land, differing little in temperature and geographical variety from the globe about which mankind wanders today.

If we prudently reduce this conjectural period by one half, it is still impossible to form more than a faint idea of the time during which the simpler forms of vegetable and animal life have possessed the earth. Let us imagine a record having been kept during the past fifty million years, in which a single page should be devoted to the chief changes occurring during each five thousand years (not much less than the whole age of the earth according to Usher). This mighty journal would now fill ten volumes of a thousand pages each; and scarcely more than the last page—Volume X, page 1000—would be assigned to the whole recorded history of mankind from the earliest Egyptian inscriptions to the present moment.

As for the starry universe, of which our second-rate sun and his little following of planets form an infinitesimal part, that seems to our homely methods of reckoning in miles and years to have existed always and to be infinite in extent. Traveling with the speed of the fastest thing we know, light, at the rate of one hundred and eighty-six thousand miles a second, one might reach Neptune, on the outermost bounds of our solar system, in about four hours, whereas it would take over four years at the same speed to reach the star nearest us. By substituting photographic plates for the human eye it has been found that, with long exposures, hundreds of millions of stars reveal them-

selves, too faint to be seen with the eye through the best telescopes. It is suspected that the very distant nebulæ are other vast systems of suns lying outside our whole stellar universe. All the heavenly bodies are moving with incredible rapidity; the earth not only revolves about its sun, but the sun travels through space like all the other stars. So far as the constitution of the stars throughout the universe is concerned the spectroscope indicates that they are all made of the same chemical substances with which we are familiar on the earth: hydrogen, helium, oxygen, nitrogen, carbon, sodium, iron, nickel, and so forth. And such samples as fall on the earth in the form of meteoric dust or larger masses have so far proved on analysis to contain no materials strange to the earthly chemist.

As early as 1795 the Scotch geologist James Hutton published his conclusion that the earth had gradually assumed its present form by slow natural processes and he roused a storm of protest by declaring that he found "no traces of a beginning and no prospect of an end." In 1830 Sir Charles Lyell published his famous *Principles of Geology*, in which he explained at length the manner in which the gradual contraction of the globe, the action of rain and frost, had, through countless eons and without great general convulsions or cataclysms, formed the mountains and valleys and laid down the strata of limestone, clay, and sandstone. He showed in short that the surface of the earth was the result of familiar, everyday causes most of which can still be seen in operation. The work of later geologists has served to substantiate Lyell's views.

The Theory of Evolution: Darwinism

And just as the earth itself has slowly changed through the operation of natural forces, so plants and animals appear to have assumed their present forms gradually. Buffon, a French naturalist, who was busy on a vast *Natural History* at the time that Diderot's *Encyclopædia* was in course of publica-

tion, pointed out that all mammals closely resembled one another in their structure, unlike as they may appear to the careless observer. If a horse be compared point by point to a man, "our wonder," Buffon declares, "is excited rather by the resemblances than by the differences between them." As he noted the family likenesses between even widely divergent creatures he admitted that it looked as if nature might, if sufficient time were allowed, "have evolved all organized forms from one original type."

In other passages Buffon forecast the great theory of evolution, and in the opening decade of the nineteenth century his fellow countryman Lamarck published a work in which he boldly maintained that the whole animal world had been gradually developed from simpler forms. He was half a century in advance of his times in this conviction. He believed that traits acquired by an individual might be transmitted hereditarily to its offspring and that in this way successful adjustments would accumulate. Many modern biologists deny this "hereditary transmissibility of acquired characters," as the hypothesis is called. But the question becomes a very intricate one on inspection and cannot be said to be settled yet.

There appeared in England in 1844 a volume entitled *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, by a writer who carefully concealed his name.[1] For the accepted idea of the instantaneous creation of all living species of plants and animals he substituted the notion of development through long periods:

> The whole train of animated beings, from the simplest and oldest, up to the highest and most recent are, then, to be regarded as a series of *advances of the principle of development*, which have depended upon external physical circumstances, to which the resulting animals

[1] In the twelfth edition of this book, published in 1884, it was finally admitted that it was written by Robert Chambers, who had died in 1871. The author dreaded the bitter controversy in which he would be involved if his name were known.

are appropriate. I contemplate the whole phenomena as having been in the first place arranged in the counsels of Divine Wisdom to take place, not only upon this sphere, but upon all others in space, under necessary modifications, and as being carried on from first to last, here and elsewhere, under the immediate favor of the creative will or energy.

The writer urges that the emergence of more complex forms from simpler ones is not at all "more wonderful as a natural process than one which we never think of wondering at, because familiar to us; namely, that during the gestation of the mammals." Even the egg and the acorn give little promise of the hen and the oak which come from them. This argument from analogy is evoked down to the present day. The writer makes many moral reflections, calling attention, for example, to the fact that from this new standpoint so-called criminals are either the victims of bad social conditions or "are brought to error by tendencies which they are only unfortunate in having inherited from nature." This was a new solution of the problem of evil, now to be ascribed not to man's fall from an angelic state but to his rise from the unquestioning life of a wild animal.

In 1852 Herbert Spencer, in one of his very earliest works, gave many reasons for supposing that the whole visible universe—the earth and all its plant and animal inhabitants, including even man himself and all his ideas and institutions —had slowly developed by natural processes.

Seven years later (1859) Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, the result of years of most patient study of plants and animals, finally brought the whole theory of evolution to the attention of the world at large. In his introduction he says:

Although much remains obscure, I can entertain no doubt, after the most deliberate and dispassionate judgement of which I am capable, that the view which most naturalists till recently entertained, and which I formerly entertained,—namely, that each species has been

independently created,—is erroneous. I am fully convinced that species are not immutable, but that those belonging to what are called the same genera are lineal descendants of some other and generally extinct species.

The theologians knew little about zoölogical classification, and it was not hard for them to believe that all the kinds of animals and vegetables which they happened to have noticed existed in the Garden of Eden and were still to be found in exactly the same form in which God originally created them. If, however, one consults a botanical or a zoölogical handbook, he will discover that there are hundreds of thousands of kinds of organisms on the earth, differing from one another in physical characteristics and habits. Even of single-celled creatures there may be two hundred thousand species. There are perhaps eighty thousand kinds of beetles and fifty thousand known species of flies. Then there are all the various mollusks, crustacea, fishes, birds, and a relatively small assortment of mammals. The paleontologist discovers from the examination of the earth's strata that the species of animals and plants which happen to leave some record of themselves have often come and gone, and that the so-called higher animals occur only in comparatively recent deposits, whereas the simpler creatures can be traced back tens of millions of years earlier. It was considerations like these, together with experiments in breeding and hybridization, that led Darwin to accept the evolutionary hypothesis, which, as we have seen, did not originate with him. It was his attempt to *explain evolution* and the transmutation of one species into another that constitutes "Darwinism" in the minds of scientific workers, not the theory of evolution itself, as so many people still mistakenly suppose.

Darwin pointed out that if any species of animal or plant were left free under favorable circumstances to multiply, it would speedily fill the whole earth. For example, if a single pair of robin redbreasts or sparrows were allowed to live and breed unmolested, they might increase to twenty million in

ten years. This is a very moderate instance of the power of multiplication. Since the number of plants and animals shows no actual general increase, it is clear that by far the greater portion of the eggs of birds and fishes, the seeds of plants, and the young of mammals are destroyed before they can develop. Excessive heat and cold, rain and drought, are largely responsible for this destruction of potential life; but organisms destroy one another in all sorts of ways, often by merely crowding one another out and consuming all the available food. There is consequently a perpetual competition among all living organisms.

Darwin named this essential competition "the struggle for existence." But he is careful to say, "I use this term in a large and metaphorical sense including dependence of one being upon another, and including (which is more important) not only the life of the individual but the success in leaving progeny." Those unfamiliar with animals and plants often get the idea that by struggle for existence is meant a sort of active warfare, conquest or defeat, devouring or getting devoured. But Darwin was under no such illusion. Survival is in the overwhelming majority of cases a matter of seeming accident—the result of delicate adjustments, not by any means the outcome of a successful struggle in the usual sense of the word. For example, out of ten thousand winged milkweed seeds one may be wafted into a situation suitable to sprouting; of all the burs clinging to a herd of cattle, but one may be detached at just the right point to perpetuate its kind. In any case, of all the seeds and eggs that are formed, only a minute portion ever develop: one in five, in ten, in a thousand, in a million; of the young only a very small percentage reach maturity and reproduce their species.

These considerations lead to the great question whether reasons can be found which explain why some individuals and species survive while others decline or perish altogether. Alfred R. Wallace, a great admirer of Darwin (who had him-

self reached conclusions similar to Darwin's before the *Origin of Species* was published), thus summarizes the doctrine of *variation* and the *survival of the fittest*:

> If all individuals of each species were exactly alike in every respect, we could only say that it [survival] is a matter of chance, but they are not alike. . . . We find that they vary in many different ways. Some are stronger, some swifter, some hardier in constitution, some more cunning. An obscure color may render concealment more easy for some; keener sight may enable others to discover prey or escape from an enemy better than their fellows. Among plants the smallest differences may be useful or the reverse. The earliest and strongest shoots may escape the slugs; their greater vigor may enable them to flower and seed earlier in wet autumn; plants best armed with spines or hair may escape being devoured; those whose flowers are most conspicuous may be soonest fertilized by insects. We cannot doubt that, on the whole, any beneficial variation will give the possessor of it a greater probability of living through the tremendous ordeal they have to undergo. There may be something left to chance, but on the whole *the fittest will survive.*

"Darwinism" may then be summarized as follows: It was the theory that animal and plant species do not endure indefinitely unchanged; but, owing to the "variations" or peculiar characteristics which may be observed in every individual, no two of which are exactly alike, those best fitted to survive tend to have a better chance of escaping destruction in the bitter competition of life and of transmitting their advantageous characteristics to their offspring. In this way the increasing complexity of adjustment and the emergence of ever "higher" and more intricate creatures in the scale from the amœba to man seemed to be at least partly explained. Darwin also conjectured that "sexual selection" played a part in this process; by which he meant that the more vigorous, the better armed, or, in the case of birds, "the most melodious or beautiful" males would have the advantage of capturing or attracting the females and would consequently be more likely

to have offspring than those individuals with poorer weapons and inferior charms. Darwin himself attached slight importance to this factor, although it caught the attention of the public.

Among the scientifically minded who heartily welcomed Darwin's book and approved his theories were Herbert Spencer, Alfred R. Wallace, Huxley, Asa Gray the American botanist, and Haeckel the popular German writer, all of whom devoted their expert knowledge and gifted pens to the explanation and defense of the new ideas.

The opponents of the evolutionary hypothesis were, however, very loud in their denunciations. Not only religious leaders but some distinguished men of science, like Alexander Agassiz, utterly refused to revise their opinions. The clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, could find no words too harsh to apply to the patient and careful Darwin, who seemed to them to contradict the express word of God in the Bible and to rob man of all his dignity by suggesting that he had originally sprung from lower animal forms. The new theory seemed to them "an attempt to dethrone God" and substitute mere gradual natural processes for the divine fiat which had called all things into existence. Pope Pius IX declared Darwin's theory to be the result of his natural depravity and an absurd attempt to degrade man to the level of unreasoning brutes.

Some religious leaders, however, became gradually reconciled to the new conception of the development of all things. On further thought they recognized that God's ways were exhibited and illustrated in his works as well as in the Bible. A gradual process of creation might be quite as divine as a sudden one, as had been urged by the author of *The Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation,* referred to above. Mankind, instead of suffering degradation by being included in the history of organic development, might be considered the goal toward which all nature's work from the origin of the

globe had been directed. The works of John Fiske of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (1883) by Henry Drummond, a devout Scotch Calvinist, as well as his *Ascent of Man* (1894), did much to remove the prejudice against evolution in the minds of thoughtful readers. Patrick Geddes wrote a little work emphasizing coöperation and a kind of inherent altruism in the process of evolution. And it seemed for a time that the original bitter antipathy to the evolutionary ideas was destined to pass away, as has that against the Copernican statement of the movement of the earth. But since the World War a well-organized effort has been made, especially in the United States, to prevent the teaching of evolution in the schools, and two or three state legislatures were induced to pass laws forbidding teachers to present the scientific conception of man's origin.[1] Those who oppose the evolutionary view rarely have, or claim to have, any special knowledge of the ways of nature; it is enough for them that the new view seems opposed to the teachings of the Bible as they have been taught to understand it.

As for men of science, very few any longer doubt that if man's ancestry could be traced back far enough, it would be found to merge into that of the other higher animals, especially the monkeys and apes, although none of them believe man is *directly* derived from either of these groups. They all accept the evolutionary hypothesis, but a great many feel that *Darwinism* (that is, the various explanations of the origin of species suggested by Darwin) is inadequate and sometimes quite erroneous. For example, many assert that characteristics acquired by an individual cannot be transmitted hereditarily to its offspring, and that so-called sexual selection is based upon false assumptions. In short, further researches into the mysterious complications of natural processes has rendered the whole problem far more intricate and,

[1] See page 556, below.

as yet, more mysterious than it was believed to be even by the humble Darwin and his immediate followers. So it is sometimes said that "Darwinism is dead," but this does not mean that scientific men are not all practically agreed that the higher plants and animals, including man himself, have a long lineage of simpler ancestors extending back to the first appearance of life on the globe.

The Study of Living Cells and its Results

While, as has been said, practically all biologists believe in evolution, the greater part of them are at present more concerned in studying the structure and workings of present-day creatures which are readily at hand in inexhaustible quantities. Fossil remains are very imperfect, although it has been possible to classify them into many families, genera, and species.

Without the modern compound microscope, which began to be improved about 1830 and reached a high degree of perfection in the latter half of the nineteenth century, our knowledge of the world of plant and animal life would remain slight. To illustrate this, take a small pin and make a shallow indentation in a piece of paper. The spot will be about a hundredth of an inch in diameter. Now the overwhelming majority of animals and thousands of different kinds of plants are smaller, often much smaller, than the mark of the pin. The cells, of which multicellular animals are formed, are also less than a hundredth of an inch across, including the cell, from which we all start. With the microscope a creature a hundredth of an inch in length can be studied as if he were a foot long, if one has lenses magnifying twelve hundred diameters, and these are common enough in any good laboratory.

About 1838 two German naturalists, Schleiden and Schwann, one of whom had been studying plants and the other animals, compared their observations and reached the conclusion that all living things are composed of one or many minute bodies

which are named *cells*—a somewhat misleading name. For organic cells are not like those in a honeycomb or in a prison or in a monastery, but are minute masses of a gelatinous substance to which the botanist Von Mohl gave the name of *protoplasm* in 1846. All life, whether plant or animal, was shown to have its beginning in a tiny mass of protoplasm, and the old theory that simple organisms generated spontaneously from dead matter was finally shown to be a mistake. As Virchow, the famous German physiologist expressed it, only a live cell can produce another live cell (*omnis cellula e cellula*). The cell corresponds in a certain way with the molecules which make up inanimate substances.

The chemical elements of protoplasm are known, but, to judge from the miracles it performs, its still unknown structure and organization are intricate beyond belief. There are a vast number of creatures, most of which live in the water, which consist of but one cell; but the microscope, although it reveals but few of their intimate secrets, shows them to be very complicated. These single-celled creatures are called *protozoa*, and they are not always very sharply differentiated from single-celled plants, since the animal and plant kingdoms merge into one another in their simpler forms.

Many of the small animals and all the larger ones are composed of millions of cells. It is estimated that the human body contains many trillions, each of which is due to the division of a previous cell, and all of which spring, in the last analysis, from a single original cell (the ovum, or egg), from which all multicellular animals and plants take their start.

All these cells are not alike, however, but just as in a social community one group of individuals devotes itself to the performance of one of the duties requisite to the well-being of the community and another group devotes itself to the performance of another duty, so too, in the body, one group of cells takes upon itself one special function and another, another.—McMurrich

In addition to the cells which form the skin, muscles, bones, and organs, the blood of vertebrates contains billions of corpuscles, red and white, which circulate freely and act somewhat like protozoans, or unicellular animals.

Only two illustrations of the great importance of the microscopic study of cells need be mentioned here: (1) the investigations relating to the embryonic cell and its development into a full-grown creature, and (2) the discovery of bacteria and other single-celled and very minute creatures which play a great rôle in man's life both in health and disease.

Embryology—the science of germ cells and the ways in which parents transmit their characteristics to their offspring (heredity)—made rapid progress during the first quarter of the twentieth century. It has proved possible to follow somewhat closely the changes that occur in the egg after fertilization takes place and to describe the manner in which the contributions made by both male and female are combined in the building up of their progeny. There are incredibly small and numerous chemical packets called *genes*, which are combined into much larger packets (easily seen under the microscope) called *chromosomes*. It is quite impossible to describe in detail the current research in this fascinating field, but two or three conclusions of obvious importance in the readjustment of our older ideas may be noted.

In the first place the mother and the father each contribute the same number of chromosomes or heredity-bearing packets and both have an equal chance of transmitting their characteristics to their offspring. So the old genealogical tables, based on feudal ideas of *male* primogeniture are, from a modern standpoint, wholly unscientific and misleading. One who proudly cherishes the fact that he had an ancestor in the *Mayflower*, perhaps ten generations back, and who traces his "direct" line back to someone living in 1620 is engaged in a purely fanciful operation. For all his ancestors, women as well as men, have had an equal chance of affecting his

make-up, however stupid or ignorant or vicious they may have been. If intermarriages be neglected, each one of us living today had a thousand and twenty-four ancestors living ten generations ago, and in the interval a total of over two thousand forebears who may have helped to make or mar us.

In the second place it is a well-known fact that brothers and sisters, with the same parents, differ widely in their physical and mental and emotional traits. The reason for this is now cleared up by the microscope. A new deal takes place when each of us comes into being as an individual. And the traits not only of our father and mother but of their parents and ancestors may happen to get into the new mixture which makes up any one of us. So each of us is unique in some respects, although the habits and conformities of life may make us seem more uniform than we are. This fact is discouraging to the so-called eugenists, who hope to improve mankind by precluding marriages between individuals whom they deem "undesirables." From the standpoint of heredity each of us has many fathers and mothers, and no one can control the shuffling of the chromosomes. Of course all this does not call into question the fact that intelligent parents in a favorable position may exercise a great influence upon their children in rearing them advantageously, whatever their particular hereditary characteristics. But the problem of producing "well-born" human beings is shown to be far more intricate and difficult than many writers on eugenics seem willing to admit.

Lastly, there is much discussion nowadays about *heredity* and *environment*: some incline to attribute almost everything to the one, others to the other. An eminent embryologist has pointed out that heredity and environment are equally important since they always go together and cannot be thought of apart. This is the result of considering the cell from first to last. It can only live and develop as a result of its environment, and a change of environment will modify its behavior in all sorts of surprising ways, since it is very complicated and

shows great powers of adaptation. Heredity consists in the chemical contents and organization of the cells, environment in the circumstances in which the cells find themselves. So both are absolutely essential to life and development.[1]

Bacteria and the Germ Theory of Disease

As early as 1675 the simple microscopes of the day had revealed "little animals" (animalcula) in pond water and in putrefying meat, milk, and cheese. With the far more powerful microscopes of the nineteenth century these animalcula were found to constitute a vast world of tiny organisms differing from one another greatly in structure and in modes of life. Some of them belong to the one-celled protozoa; others are tiny plants; others form a large and varied group, extreme in their minuteness and having ways of life different from what are ordinarily called plants. These are now classed as *bacteria*.

A hundred years after the discovery of animalcula, Pleincz of Vienna made the startling statement that he was firmly convinced that both disease and the decomposition of animal matter were due to the activity of these minute organisms. But another century elapsed before Pasteur discovered in 1863 that the virulent ulcer called anthrax was due to the presence of little rod-shaped bodies which he named "bacteria."

Pasteur (1822–1895) was a French chemist who made many important discoveries besides the treatment for hydrophobia, with which his name is most commonly associated. He proved that bacteria were very common in the air and that it was they that were at the bottom of physiological changes hitherto entirely unexplained. Pasteur was sent by the government to the south of France to study the disease of the silkworm, the ravages of which were impoverishing the coun-

[1] H. S. Jennings, *Prometheus or Biology and the Advancement of Man*, a short and very interesting account of embryological discoveries.

try. He found the bodies and eggs of the silkworms full of bacteria and suggested the proper remedy. His study of fermentation enabled him to prevent great losses also among the wine growers.

Koch of Berlin later discovered the "bacillus" of tuberculosis, one of the commonest as well as most deadly diseases. Other workers have found the germs which are implicated in pneumonia, diphtheria, lockjaw, the bubonic plague, etc.

Bacteria are rodlike, beadlike, or spiral in shape, often in rapid motion, and they multiply by dividing into two parts, or by forming a germ or spore. They are very tiny. Four thousand of the larger kinds put end to end would extend only an inch; and smaller ones are but one four-hundred-thousandth of an inch in length; and it is supposed that some diseases are due to those too small to be seen under the most powerful microscopic lenses. They would do little harm were it not for their tremendous powers of multiplication. Under favorable circumstances the offspring of a single bacillus dividing itself into two every hour would amount to seventeen millions at the end of twenty-four hours. They are well-nigh everywhere: in air, water, milk, in and on the bodies of men and animals, and in the earth. Many kinds are harmless, and some even appear to be absolutely necessary for the growth of certain most useful plants. Only a few species cause infectious diseases.

The struggle against pathogenic, or disease-producing, germs had begun before the discovery of bacteria. As early as 1796 Edward Jenner tried vaccination to prevent smallpox, one of the devastating diseases of his time, and this treatment gradually prevailed long before the modern germ theory could be worked out. In the same way better methods of dealing with surgical cases began to be suggested before bacteria were understood. Surgery was being greatly aided by the modern use of anæsthetics, a primitive knowledge of which had been widespread among the ancients. The Greeks and Chinese were aware that certain drugs would reduce or destroy pain. In

1800 Sir Humphry Davy, the famous English chemist, advocated the use of nitrous oxide (laughing gas). A few years later Faraday pointed out that the vapor of ether would produce insensibility. In 1847 Dr. Simpson of Edinburgh began to advocate the use of chloroform. American physicians (Dr. Long of Georgia and Dr. Morton and Dr. Warren of Boston) tried successful experiments in this field in the forties, and from their time on, anæsthetics have been regularly used in operations.

The possibility of keeping a patient quiet and unconscious for a considerable period greatly increased the number and boldness of surgical enterprises. Many operations ended fatally, however, because blood-poisoning, erysipelas, gangrene, or inflammation of various membranes was pretty sure to set in. So to open the head or the chest or the abdomen usually meant a fatal outcome. Joseph Lister, an English professor of surgery, finally hit upon the remedy. By observing the utmost cleanliness and using certain antiseptics he greatly reduced the number of cases which went wrong. The reason for his success, however, was not yet understood in the early sixties, when his work first began to attract attention. Only when the minute and elusive causes of infection, namely bacteria, were submitted to careful study was it possible to take sufficiently complete precautions in the way of sterilization to insure the speedy and almost inerrant healing of a surgical incision. The hospitals and operating rooms of the middle of the nineteenth century would fill any contemporary doctor or nurse with consternation.

Our modern problem of disease is no longer witch-hunting and the exorcism of evil spirits, but the struggle against bacteria. It would at first sight seem hopeless to attempt to avoid such minute and insidious enemies, whose forces increase each day by billions. But experience shows that bacteria can be fended off in surgical cases by the scrupulous sterilization of everything entering into the operation. It has been learned that

typhoid fever comes generally from the use of impure water or milk, that tuberculosis is spread mainly through the dried sputum of those afflicted with it, that the germs of yellow fever and malaria[1] are carried by a certain kind of mosquito. These all suggest obvious precautions which would greatly reduce the chance of spreading disease. Moreover, various counteracting agents have been brought to light. Pasteur found that animals could be rendered immune to hydrophobia by the injection of the virus of the disease. So-called antitoxins, or counter poisons, have been discovered for lockjaw, diphtheria, and some bacterial infections.

The Russian bacteriologist Metchnikov, working in Paris, demonstrated that the white blood corpuscles keep up a constant warfare with the bacteria and devour those which find their way into the body. Hence he called these corpuscles *phagocytes*; that is, the cells which eat. The study of these, of which there are several kinds, continues, and various means are suggested by which they may be increased and helped to make a good fight against the noxious bacteria. So the essential problem is being faced of hunting down one by one the microscopic foes of mankind and inventing ways to avoid them and means to counteract their poison or render our bodies immune to their attacks. Medicine would have forever remained a blind and blundering science had not the microscope and the consequent discovery of bacteria opened up hitherto undreamed-of possibilities in the treatment and prevention of disease.

The Constitution of Matter: Atoms and Molecules

While living creatures were yielding some of their well-kept secrets to scientific investigators, those who busied themselves with what used to be called *inert* matter were discovering that its constituent parts are in a state of marvelous activity. Mat-

[1] Malaria, the sleeping sickness in Africa, hookworm, and certain other maladies are not caused by bacteria but are due to protozoans and various parasites.

ter may be inanimate, which means "soulless," but it is anything but inert. Familiar things like heat, light, and electrical currents are to be explained only by the incredible mobility of matter.

The notion that all things consisted of minute, indivisible particles, *atoms*, had been suggested in ancient Greece by Democritus, a contemporary of Socrates. The idea was taken up by the Epicureans and was later set forth, in the days of Cicero and Julius Cæsar, by a Roman poet, Lucretius, in his work *Concerning the Nature of Things*. This older theory can hardly be regarded as more than a shrewd guess, very ill supported by any experiments then possible.

Early in the nineteenth century an English chemist, Dalton, was led to revive the idea as a result of his careful consideration of the fixed proportions which entered into any chemical compound. He thought that all matter acted as if it were composed of atoms of the various elements and that these always combined in definite numbers to form the molecules, or least particles, of the innumerable compound substances. For example, he rightly guessed that an atom of carbon entered into combination with two atoms of oxygen to form what used to be called carbonic acid and is now called carbonic dioxide. Moreover, as twelve parts by weight of carbon always combined with thirty-two parts of oxygen, he thought it might be inferred that the carbon atom weighed twelve units and the oxygen atom sixteen. This formed the basis of the modern atomic theory, which, after being very carefully worked out in relation to gases as well as solids by a long succession of celebrated chemists, has become the foundation of our conception of matter today.

For a good while the chemists believed the atom to be the smallest particle of matter of whose existence there was any evidence. There seemed to be at best less than a hundred kinds of atoms (called "elements"), such as hydrogen, oxygen, carbon, nitrogen, calcium, silicon, sulphur, silver, gold, mercury, lead,

and so on. The list of elements was gradually increased until eighty-seven had been discovered. There are reasons for supposing that there may be ninety-two in all. Hydrogen is the lightest atom, uranium the heaviest.

At the very end of the nineteenth century it began to become apparent to chemists that atoms were not *simple* but very *complex*, and during the first quarter of the twentieth century the most revolutionary discoveries were made. The ways in which physicists and chemists reach their conclusions are too complicated to be described here. The existence of "rays," beginning with X rays, to which Röntgen called attention in 1895, is one element in the situation. The X ray readily passes through substances which are opaque to light rays. Then in 1897 Monsieur and Madame Curie discovered radium and found that it, together with uranium and certain other very heavy atoms, emitted rays or particles *which were not atoms but small parts of atoms*. With subtle electrical devices and the use of the spectroscope the analysis of the atom is progressing rapidly.

As atoms are now understood by physicists and chemists they are constructed each like a miniature solar system with a central body, the *nucleus*, around which revolve satellites called *electrons*. The electrons are negative charges of electricity attracted and held in their orbits by the positively charged nucleus. Hydrogen, the simplest atom and the lightest, has but one electron, as the earth has but one moon, which circulates about its center. Uranium, the heaviest known atom, has at least ninety-two electrons and is so complicated that some of its electrons break away from time to time, as is the case with the very heavy and insecure radium atom. It is supposed that the hydrogen electron is relatively as far from its center as the earth is from the sun; but it whizzes about its nucleus at a rate of something like fourteen hundred miles a second, whereas the earth trundles round the sun at about eighteen miles a second.

If these general conclusions in regard to the constitution of matter are correct, it is to be noted that however quiet a mass of iron or stone may seem to us its minute parts, the electrons, are in a state of incredible activity. Compact and solid as the iron or stone may seem to us, they are really almost all emptiness—empty as the universe at large (see page 511, above). As Bertrand Russell puts it, "solid" matter, as the chemist now sees it, suggests the definition of a net as a number of holes tied together with pieces of string. "Only it would be necessary to imagine the strings cut away until only the knots were left." As for the size of the atoms, it would take a million million of a million million to weigh as much as half a copper cent. The stupendous littleness of electrons and the stupendous magnitude of stars, the bewildering velocities and distances of the universe, overwhelm and stupefy the human mind used to its puny weighing scales and yard-sticks, and its snail-like movements.

No chemist has as yet learned to alter the constitution of an atom. Most elements remain permanent apparently, but radium and, in a less startling degree, some other elements tend to disintegrate into simpler atoms by successive explosions. There is evidently a vast amount of energy stored in the atoms, for radium will give out enough heat every hour to raise its own weight of water from the freezing-point to the boiling-point. It is supposed, however, to waste away only half its mass in fifteen hundred years. But so far this interatomic energy is in no way under human control.

It is *combinations* of atoms, not the atoms themselves, that lend themselves to human manipulation. For atoms cluster into *molecules*, which are usually made up of different elements. A molecule may contain only two elements, one atom of each; table salt, for instance, contains one atom of sodium and one of chlorine. On the other hand, molecules, especially those that plants and animals build up, may contain scores of atoms of several elements. And the change of a single atom may

make all the difference in the world from a human standpoint. We breathe out every instant carbonic dioxide (a combination of one carbon atom and two oxygen atoms), but a few whiffs of carbon monoxide will put us to sleep forever. Add one atom of oxygen to the combination which constitutes water, and it becomes a powerful antiseptic.

By juggling about the atoms so as to reproduce old kinds of molecules and create new ones, modern chemists engage in magical feats outrunning all the dreams of the alchemists. Substances such as alcohol, indigo, and various dyes and perfumes, which were formerly derived only from plants and animals, can now be made in the laboratory. Steel can be improved by adding certain atoms of other elements, and the soil can be rendered more fertile by rectifying its constituents. The most striking achievements have been accomplished in the utilization of coal tar. This contains a great number of complicated and valuable molecules which have been turned into a multitude of dyes, perfumes, and medicines. A coal-tar product may be used to scent a handkerchief, to flavor a dish, to pull a tooth painlessly, or to construct a phonograph record. So the chemist is becoming more and more essential to manufacturers, mine owners, farmers, health officers, and to the public in general. This is because he has learned what substances are made of and how to recombine their constituents so as to meet human needs and desires.

The molecules are in rapid motion, for there is no rest in the universe. As one inflates an automobile tire it would burst forthwith did not the molecules on the outside offset the beating of the molecules within. This explains the so-called "pressure" of gases. A sudden storm of wind may for the instant reduce the amount of air molecules beating on the outside of our windows, in which case the air inside will burst the panes. Heat is produced by speeding up the molecules; cold, by reducing their velocity. If one puts his warm hand on a block of ice, the molecules of water will increase their

rate while the molecules of the hand will slow down in a painful way. Everything is in motion; nothing is at rest.[1]

Modern chemistry has supplied man with all sorts of novel conveniences: it enables him to carry on warfare on a far more destructive scale than ever before or, if so inclined, to enrich his fields with much the same things that he puts into his high explosives. It does much more: it explains to him his physical make-up and his bodily processes so that he may learn to increase his health and vigor and avoid or mitigate disease. The study of animal and vegetable processes is known as biochemistry, or the chemistry of life. This important branch of science has of late developed on a generous scale, and all biologists and trained physicians must reckon with its findings.

There is one special element, *carbon*, without which it is hard to conceive of life of any kind existing. It is the friendliest of atoms and can help toward building up very complicated molecules of great stability and at the same time very adjustable and plastic. One of the forms of chlorophyll in the leaves of plants is supposed to contain in each molecule thirty-four atoms of carbon holding together thirty-two atoms of hydrogen, five of oxygen, four of the very unsociable nitrogen.

Among the most astonishing discoveries of biochemistry are the presence and essential workings of the vitamines, which in excessively minute quantities are necessary to maintain health. The secretions of the ductless glands are also being studied, with astonishing results. They play a marvelous and still inadequately understood rôle in the regulation of the body. These discoveries suggest new methods of treating old diseases and open the way for future advance in understanding the miracles which daily and hourly go on within us.[2]

[1] If the temperature could be reduced to about 460 degrees below zero by our common Fahrenheit thermometers, the molecules would cease to move, and it would be impossible to imagine anything colder. This point is called the absolute zero and has been nearly attained by ingenious devices.

[2] Some possibilities of human readjustment are suggested in *Dædalus*, by the well-known biochemist J. B. S. Haldane—a little book easy to understand.

CHAPTER XXXIX

NEW VIEWS OF MAN'S NATURE AND TRADITIONS

Influence of Natural Science upon the Study of Man Himself

Natural science deals with man's surroundings, the world in which he lives, and the animals and plants which share the earth with him. Since he has to make terms with his environment and control it, so far as he may to his own advantage, his increasing knowledge of the ways of nature are of incalculable importance to him. This has been amply illustrated in the preceding chapter. Moreover, the attitude of mind of geologists, paleontologists, chemists, and biologists, who have been so successful in revealing the secrets of natural processes, has suggested new and more fruitful ways of investigating man himself.

In the first place, the student of nonhuman phenomena disclaims, and has long disclaimed, any confidence in merely traditional beliefs handed down in old books. He is not pledged to cling to any doctrines in his field of work just because they have long been accepted. He is at liberty to doubt or completely to reject the faith of the past in cases where it does not seem to fit the facts that he observes. He is always asking how, upon careful examination, things really are and how they really work, not how good men in the past have taught that they are. There is no place in science for dogma.

In the second place, it has become clear that there is no better way of understanding things and seeing how they really are and how they work than by going back and studying how they have come about. This is called the *genetic,* or develop-

mental, approach to truth. By learning how animals once were it becomes far easier to see not only how they came to be as they are but how they really are. For example, the examination of more primitive hearts and brains than those of the mammals serves to call attention to peculiarities in the higher animals which might otherwise be overlooked. The existence in man of vestigial muscles for moving his ears and wagging a tail can only be understood historically. The arrangement of his intestines and the weakness of his lower abdominal muscles —which often invite disease—take on a new aspect when one considers that his remote ancestors went on all fours. Moreover, embryology, or the history of individual development, has served to suggest explanations for important facts that were previously obscure.

Thirdly, the scientist constantly resorts to the *comparative* method. He collates, or lays side by side, so to speak, all sorts of animals and plants in order to note their resemblances and differences. He finds correspondences hidden under seeming diversity, differences disguised as resemblances, and curious methods of reaching the same essential ends in multitudinous ways. The pineapple and the so-called "moss" that hangs from trees in the South are nearly related; the wings of a bird and the forelegs of a frog are *morphologically* akin. On the other hand, objects which look alike to the casual observer often prove to be very different. What he takes for petals when he sees the brilliant poinsettia are really bracts; a sunflower or a daisy is not one flower but many.

Lastly, careful experimentation and "control" bring out a vast amount of information which would escape one who confined himself to observing merely what happened to happen when he was looking on. By arranging special conditions under which to watch occurrences the scientist places himself in a position better to judge causes and effects. For example, he makes lightning in his laboratory instead of waiting for a thunderstorm; or he devises methods of producing tremen-

dous pressure to see its effects on marble, instead of merely conjecturing the probable influence of geological pressure.

Man is at once the most important and the most difficult subject of scientific study. He has much in common with other animals; the chemist and biologist can tell us a great deal of ourselves, as has been indicated. But a creature with the possibility of building up a mind and greatly altering his behavior; an animal subject to the most obscure emotional states and fluctuations, the result of his multiform memories, his dependence on others, his ideals and urgent longings for love, power, honor; his hidden fears and resentments,—all these combine to perplex and frustrate those who try to explain his ways and thoughts scientifically. He combines all the chemical and organic problems of other forms of life with the mysteries of a consciously planning and conspiring creature persistently operating under misapprehensions about himself and others and in regard to his surroundings. He wants what he doesn't want; he doesn't want what he wants. As the Latin poet puts it: *Volo nolo, nolo volo.* A history could be written of the analysis of human misery and perversity from Buddha, Euripides, Koheleth (Ecclesiastes), Lucretius, and Seneca down to Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann; also of the various plans for deliverance or salvation recommended by each. But here we have no space to do more than suggest the influence which modern scientific methods have had upon the general conceptions of man's origin and nature.

The Newer Aims of Historical Study

History corresponds to the genetic, or developmental, approach in the natural sciences. But it is only recently that this has been realized. Formerly history was often defined as "a record of events." And so it is; but it is much more than that. The history of history is an interesting theme in itself. As pointed out in the first chapter of this volume, it was for

many centuries a sort of "story agreed upon"; it dealt with conspicuous public events, especially wars, and no great pains were taken to secure adequate evidence for the alleged facts. It often had a definite bias, as when Orosius, a writer of the time of Augustine, wrote a history of the world to show that Christianity had made things no worse than they had been under paganism. Later examples are the controversial histories of Protestants and Catholics.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries scholars began to collect the *sources* with some attempt to judge their authenticity, and this habit has continued down to the present day. In the middle of the nineteenth century the distinguished German historian Leopold von Ranke declared that his object was to describe *wie es eigentlich gewesen*; that is, to tell how things really had been regardless of any personal preferences or religious convictions of his own. This has been the scientific ambition of many scholars since, who believed the great danger lay in being misled by some purpose or partiality in presenting the past.

Gradually it became apparent that the older kind of history was not usually *historical*, in the sense of *developmental*, in its aims. It was a record of events; but the selection from the bewildering number of happenings was not made consciously with a view of showing how things had come about, but rather how they were in successive periods. So for Ranke's principle *wie es eigentlich gewesen* was substituted *wie es eigentlich geworden*. It has been a constant reproach that history was trivial in spite of its solemn mien and did little more than satisfy a certain curiosity; that it recalled events which had little to do with getting a better hold upon man's nature and behavior. It can, however, be used to explain human conditions and problems by showing their origin and development. This has been the avowed and consistent aim in writing the present work. If one finds himself in a painful position, he can often seek enlightenment by reconsidering how he happened to get

into his plight. Recalling the past, which is history, may even suggest means of escape from difficulties. This kind of history is not a perverted or biased statement such as Ranke protested against: it has a purpose, it is true; but the purpose is scientific, and its goal is to reduce prejudice, not to fortify it. It is for the reader to judge how far the genetic method adhered to in these volumes has served to make existing conditions clearer than they would otherwise have been.

The scope of history has been greatly extended during the past fifty years by archæology. Former historians had to rely mainly upon written records, but the archæologist seeks under the accumulated dust of time other vestiges of man's past: his bones and primitive tools, remains of his buildings, his utensils and adornments. Prehistoric archæology has shown that man has been on the earth for several hundreds of thousands of years; Egyptian and Mesopotamian excavations have made clear that a higher civilization than was previously supposed existed in these regions long before the days of the Greeks. The whole history of the Greeks themselves has been put on a new foundation by researches in Crete and Asia Minor. If history did no more than furnish us with a new perspective of human development, it would have fully justified itself as a study essential to the understanding of mankind.

The Perspective of Human Development

Before geological discoveries revealed the great age of the earth it was assumed that the first man and woman were acquainted with both language and agriculture. As a distinguished American theologian explained in the early years of the nineteenth century:

> God taught man to dress the garden of Eden; or, in other words, communicated to him the knowledge of agriculture, suited to the nature and circumstances of the spot in which he was placed. It was necessary for man to be employed. Idleness, even in Paradise, would

not improbably have proved fatal to his innocence and peace. . . . God endowed him immediately with the power of speech, and the knowledge of language to an extensive degree. This is clearly evinced by the fact that he was able to understand the converse of God with him. . . . Adam immediately after his creation gave names to every beast of the field and fowl of the air—names suited to their respective natures, and conveyed down, as their appropriate names, to his posterity. He also named Eve, when she was first brought to him; and assigned a reason for the name which he had chosen. Both he and she also conversed easily and freely, as appears abundantly from the account given of them, notwithstanding its brevity.[1]

By the middle of the nineteenth century a few had begun to doubt the sudden appearance on the earth of fully equipped human beings. There seemed to be indications of the existence of pre-Adamites, as they were once called. Stone tools were discovered in geological strata, which indicated that they greatly antedated the creation according to the estimates of Archbishop Usher. More and more of these were found, as well as skulls suggesting a lower order of humanity in the matter of intelligence than those to be found on the earth today. What Cotton Mather had accepted as thunderbolts (*ceraunia*) turned out to be a rather recent variety of stone hatchet. How long a kind of being who could make rude tools of flint has existed on the earth, no one knows. Prehistoric archæologists agree that a tool-making type of creatures existed from five hundred thousand to a million years ago. As for skulls, it would seem that perhaps thirty thousand years ago some were as capacious as can be found today. But these ancient men, with seemingly good brains, were evidently what we should call primitive savages.

There are now many scientific works on man before he learned to write. When he learned to talk is a question which will probably never be settled. When he came to use fire and,

[1] Timothy Dwight (president of Yale College 1795–1817), *Theology Explained and Defended*, edition of 1850, Vol. I, pp. 395–396.

later, to make it, will probably never be discovered. Writing, whether with letters or with syllabic signs, seems always to go back to pictures, with which man must have begun. More and more is being discovered; and doubtless fifty years hence unexpected finds will have been made which will modify the general impressions of the prehistoric archæologists of today. But there seems no likelihood that they will reverse their present opinion that man slowly emerged from an animal life of nakedness, houselessness, and a precarious daily search for raw food. It seems clear that once upon a time he could not talk, or use fire, or *cultiver son jardin*, as Voltaire recommends to us all. All these things he had to discover and then teach to his offspring; and thus did civilization begin, according to the new gospel of those who busy themselves with prehistoric man.

In order to realize vividly the exceeding slowness of mankind's early progress in invention and how recently the conditions of life as we know them have come about, let us imagine the whole history of the halting and laborious accumulation of human culture compressed within the span of a single lifetime:

> Let us assume that a single generation of man have in fifty years managed to accumulate all that now passes for civilization. They would have to start, as all individuals do, absolutely uncivilized; and their task would be to recapitulate what has occupied the race for, let us guess, at least five hundred thousand years. Each year in the life of a generation would therefore correspond to ten thousand years in the progress of the race.
>
> On this scale it would require forty-nine years to reach a point of intelligence which would enable our self-taught generation to give up their ancient and inveterate habits of wandering hunters and settle down here and there to till the ground, harvest their crops, domesticate animals, and weave their rough garments. Six months later, or half through the fiftieth year, some of them, in a particularly favorable situation, would have invented writing and thus established a new and wonderful means of spreading and perpetuating civilization.

Three months later another group would have carried literature, art, and philosophy to a high degree of refinement and set standards for succeeding weeks. For two months our generation would have been living under the blessing of Christianity; the printing press would be but a fortnight old and they would not have had the steam engine for quite a week. For two or three days they would have been hastening about the globe in steamships and railroad trains, and only yesterday would they have come upon the magical possibilities of electricity. Within the last few hours they would have learned to sail in the air and beneath the waters, and have forthwith applied their newest discoveries to the prosecution of a magnificent war on the scale befitting their high ideals and new resources.

This is not so strange, for only a week ago they were burning and burying alive those who differed from the ruling party in regard to salvation, eviscerating in public those who had new ideas of government, and hanging old women who were accused of traffic with the devil. All of them had been no better than vagrant savages a year before.[1]

The doctrine of the rise of mankind from an animal estate furnishes another set of explanations differing essentially from those offered by the earlier hypothesis of his fall from a state of original perfection. And when we add to this our present knowledge of the persistence of ancient custom and belief and the novelty of the conditions with which mankind has now to make terms, many things become clear that were formerly obscure. This, then, is in general the chief contribution that the historical method of dealing with humanity makes to our comprehension and understanding of its present ways and thoughts and conflicting ideals.

The Comparative Study of Mankind and its Fruits

Before the nineteenth century, in spite of much traveling and trafficking, European scholars had scarcely begun to study scientifically the extraordinary variety of customs and beliefs which merchants and missionaries came across in far-distant

[1] This is taken from the author's *Mind in the Making*, pp. 83–84.

lands. Indeed, it was not until 1871 that the *Primitive Culture* of Edward Tylor opened up to English readers a new branch of human science, in something the same way that Lyell and Darwin had earlier awakened them to the importance of their fields of research. Since the appearance of Tylor's volumes an extensive literature has grown up relating to primitive peoples. As an American anthropologist, William I. Thomas, points out, this attention to simpler civilizations shows that "the Savage is very close to us indeed, both in his physical and mental make-up and in the forms of his social life. Tribal society is virtually delayed civilization, and the savages are a sort of contemporaneous ancestry."

Primitive peoples, such as the Tasmanians (who died out only in the nineteenth century), the aboriginal Australians, the Eskimos, and some of the North American Indians, as well as many other groups, afford illustrations of how our ancestors got along without metals and writing. But every tribe on earth is found to have a spoken language, often very complicated and subtle, and often with a very copious vocabulary. The study of primitive tongues, religions, morals, customs, and institutions serves to explain many of our habits and ideas today. They underlie the great themes of anthropology in general and of comparative philology, comparative religion, and the history of morals. Sir Henry Maine used the comparative method in writing his impressive *Ancient Law* (1861). William Graham Sumner, who in early manhood had been an Episcopalian clergyman and later became a professor at Yale, published in 1907 his *Folkways: a Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals.* Quite conscious of the disturbing effect of anthropology upon conservative minds, he says in his preface, "I must add that if anyone is liable to be shocked by *any* folkways, he ought not to read about folkways at all."

The comparison of widely different plans of social organization, of customs having to do with birth, marriage, and

death and with daily social intercourse, serves to call attention to various peculiarities of our own habits and proprieties which we should otherwise overlook on account of their very familiarity. Anthropology not only suggests how many existing customs have come about but furnishes a basis of criticism of practices of our own which we commonly take for granted. Not infrequently other peoples, even primitive tribes, appear to have the advantage over us in some ways. A single instance of this will suffice:

Havelock Ellis gives an account of the customs of the Lifuans, an island tribe living a thousand miles to the east of Australia. In former days, before they began to take on European habits, their ways in peace and war had many delightful characteristics.

> The Lifuans were not acquainted with the civilized custom of making rules for warfare and breaking them when war actually broke out. Several days' notice must be given before hostilities commenced. Women and children, in contrast to the practice of civilized warfare, were never molested. As soon as a half a dozen fighters were put out of action on one side, the chief of that side would give the command to cease fighting and the war was over. An indemnity was then paid by the conquerors to the vanquished, and not, as among civilized peoples, by the vanquished to the conquerors. It was felt to be the conquered rather than the conqueror who needed consolation, and it also seemed desirable to show that no feeling of animosity was left behind.[1]

The comparative study of the habits, customs, institutions, laws, and beliefs of various peoples has led to the modern use

[1] *The Dance of Life*, pp. 17–18. Mr. Ellis derives his information from a missionary, Mrs. Hadfield, *Among the Natives of the Loyalty Group*, 1920. Many examples could be given of ways in which so-called primitive or savage peoples reach far higher ideals of conduct than those with which we are familiar in so-called civilized society. Instances are cited here and there in Sumner's *Folkways*. The most astonishing and well-known description of a simple and remunerative life is by an American writer, Herman Melville, who visited the Marquesas Islands and wrote of his experiences in a charming little book, *Typee* (1846).

of certain terms which are now current in the discussion of conduct. The suggestion of Milton (pages 134 f., above), that *Custom* is man's chief teacher, is amply borne out by anthropological research. Our daily life is far more deeply influenced and determined by what are now called the *mores* than it is by laws, established institutions, or moral sanctions. When a European enters a church he customarily takes off his hat; when an Egyptian passes into a mosque he removes his shoes, as does a Japanese on going into a temple. This is a strict rule, but it would not be a violation of law nor a moral delinquency if it were neglected. Kissing, which is a sign of affection or respect in Western countries, is abhorrent in many lands. To smack one's lips as a proof that he is enjoying what his host puts before him is obligatory among certain people but highly discourteous with us. There are everywhere various compulsive usages as to what women and men may wear on this occasion and that, and one who fails to conform may experience as much distress as if he had committed a sin or violated a law. It is quite as hard to alter the *mores* as the laws and the moral standards. European and American women had to have their skirts dangling down to their heels in 1900, in spite of the germ theory of disease. Those who disapproved the custom were helpless to alter it. For it is the very characteristic of the *mores* that they are accepted as good and right and appropriate by practically everyone. They are *comme il faut*. Why they come and go is not easy to see; but it is clear that their causes are unconscious and very rarely the result of thinking or planning. "Conscious reflection is the worst enemy of the Mores," as a German philosopher, Von Hartmann, remarks. So if they are to be controlled, it is intelligence and the spread of scientific knowledge rather than legal or religious measures that will forward their improvement. Anthropology has done much to make this apparent.

Primitive peoples commonly believe in what is called *animism*; that is, tend to ascribe souls and purposes to inanimate

things as well as to animals. This is the *anthropomorphic*, or human, way of explaining natural phenomena. Against this the scientifically minded have always to be on their guard, for animism is shown to be a deep-seated and perennial tendency of mankind.[1] Our language constantly betrays in its use of verbs this ancient preconception. We say the branch *struck* him in the eye, the table *will not come* through the door, the key *refused* to turn. When we see in a newspaper "Vienna says," we may conjecture that this only means that the *Neue Freie Presse* voiced the opinion, and that it was really one man who hurriedly wrote it down. Our personifications of countries are survivals of animism. It is not *America* that refuses to permit a certain foreigner to land, but a few officials, perhaps one man in Washington or on Ellis Island. Accordingly profitable thinking is still much hampered by the survival of savage modes of thought.

The *taboo* (originally a Polynesian word) is another term now commonly used to describe scruples and prohibitions which are traditional and for which no reason can be assigned. When we come suddenly upon the expression "Prohibited" (*Défendu* or *Verboten*), it may give us something of the feeling of a savage toward the taboos of his tribe. But our public prohibitions are usually based upon some law or ordinance; those of primitive peoples are not. This discovery has led writers to point out how much not only of our *mores*, but of our morality as well, consists in traditional avoidances and scruples not so very unlike taboos. The Decalogue is made up mainly of what "thou shalt not" do. It is apparently easier to forbid than to furnish any positive guidance in conduct. Mankind seems more afraid that something wrong will be done than something right left undone. Our morality is largely a matter of "do nots," from infancy onward. The more recent writers upon ethics have much to say of this ancient tradition

[1] Poets are especially inclined to use animistic expressions in speaking of lakes and trees, the sun, the moon, and the stars.

of humanity. The *mores* and the taboos explain why the task of the reformer is so difficult when he tries to induce people to readjust their behavior in the light of new conditions and discoveries.

Race Prejudice, Nations, and Nationalism

Anthropological research has called attention to the confident feeling of uniqueness and superiority which all tribes and peoples enjoy.

> When Caribs were asked whence they came, they answered, "We alone are the people." The meaning of Kiowa [North American Indians] is "real or principal people." The Lapps call themselves "men," or "human beings." The Greenland Eskimos think that Europeans have been sent to Greenland to learn virtue and good manners from the Greenlanders. Their highest form of praise for a European is that he is, or soon will be, as good as a Greenlander. . . . As a rule it is found that nature peoples call themselves "men." Others are something else—perhaps not defined—but not real men. In myths the origin of their own tribe is that of the real human race.—Sumner

This "pooled self-esteem," as an English writer well calls it, can be traced down through the ages. The Jews were the chosen people of God; to the Greeks all foreigners were barbarians; the name "French" means "freemen."

In recent times the loyalty which the savage tribe, the ancient city, the medieval lord, and the monarch by the grace of God formerly enjoyed in turn has been transferred to the national state. Each nation assumes with savage simplicity its own superiority and regards the loyalties and self-complacency of other peoples as strangely perverse, unfounded, and dangerous. It appears unpatriotic for a citizen to question in any way the obvious supremacy of his own particular country, whether he be an American, an Englishman, an Albanian, or an Esthonian. Politicians and statesmen well know that if they are to

retain their influence and position they must gratify national vanity. Newspapers must not come under the suspicion of hinting that the readers to whom they appeal are not "the men" of all the earth. The World War brought out the strength of existing national feeling, and impressed upon some minds the necessity of reducing it or at least curbing its more truculent and ambitious tendencies. Perhaps this problem may be clarified by making a distinction between an indiscriminate and oftentimes dangerous exaltation of one's own country and that enlightened public spirit which would improve one's nation by reckoning with the facts and with the rights and traditions of other peoples.

The investigation of races and peoples and their various contributions to the growth of civilization tends to weaken popular prejudices by showing that they have in general little foundation from a historical or anthropological standpoint. It is clear, as was said above, that existing nations owe an incalculable debt to other peoples, living in earlier times as well as today.

There are no pure races on the earth today; no aboriginal, or autochthonous, peoples. All nations are greatly mixed, and their ancestors have wandered into the regions they now occupy from other regions often unknown. Men and women of the most diverse race and circumstances are all sufficiently alike from a biological standpoint to be able to mate and have offspring. And the offspring will have an equal chance of inheriting traits from both father and mother. So if a king has a child by a foreign slave, it has no more chance of inheriting the traits of its father than those of its mother. The *mores* usually settle the standing of the offspring without reference to the inexorable circumstances of embryology. In view of these considerations one must be suspicious of attempts to prove that one race is superior to another. Those who, like Stewart Chamberlain and others, would give the Germanic, or Nordic, peoples the highest place forget that they are grati-

fying a sentiment of "pooled self-esteem" by making assertions which, like those of Fichte (referred to above, p. 312), are unsupported by anthropological, historical, and biological knowledge.

The New Methods of Studying the Mind

Comparative and genetic methods are being applied in the study of individual mental development with startling results. One could read the older works on psychology without learning much about himself. They were about *the* sensations, *the* passions, *the* faculties, *the* judgment, *the* eye, and *the* ear. But modern books make the reader feel that it is his own sensations, *his* passions, *his* eye and ear, that are in question. This is the result of taking into account the various discoveries which have already been mentioned, of considering how we each develop from childhood, and of comparing human behavior with the ways of animals and the so-called normal mind with that of people adjudged unbalanced or insane. So psychological research, the analysis of human behavior, is now followed out in different ways. There is animal (or comparative) psychology, genetic psychology, abnormal psychology, experimental and behavioristic psychology, and analytical psychology. These all aim at the same thing: to cast light on man's still mysterious ways of feeling and acting and on his responses and adjustments to his surroundings.

In spite of the centuries during which philosophers have been thinking and writing about human beings, there has until recently been no concerted attempt to get at the facts regardless of traditional and moral considerations. It is obvious enough now that the earlier students of human nature did not know enough of man and his environment to approach the problem in a really scientific spirit. It would be out of place here to try to do more than put the recent and promising study of man himself in its general historic setting.

All through the Middle Ages the soul was regarded as something immaterial and indestructible which was imprisoned for a short time in the body, where it had to be as patient as possible and guard itself from the corruptions of the flesh. According as it succeeded in resisting the natural evil tendencies of the body or yielded to them, it was to be blessed or cursed when it put on the garment of immortality. The impenitent soul went straight to hell to suffer forever; the penitent, after a period of purification in purgatory, was admitted to eternal heavenly bliss. The anthropologists have discovered that the idea of the soul far antedates Christianity. It goes back to savage times when people found themselves conversing in dreams with the dead, or moving from place to place when their bodies lay quietly asleep. The Christians, following earlier ideas, came to feel that the body was a vile thing, which tended to degrade the soul within it owing to its low and evil appetites. So the professional Christians, the monks and the nuns, retired from "the world" to escape the temptations of the flesh, which were those of the devil. The Christian ascetics strove to conquer their body and bring it into subjection by ill-treating it as the chief enemy of their highest good.[1]

As the body has been studied in modern times more and more carefully, it proves to be the wonder of wonders in its incomprehensible intricacy and its incredible power of working miracles. It arouses a sense of reverence and mystery rather than one of resentment and scorn. It seems to be something to cherish and aid, not to torture and debilitate. Moreover, our aspirations, high hopes, patience, and helpfulness to others—all that seems best in the soul—may be increased by bodily welfare. Some failure of a gland, owing to the lack of a single chemical,—notably the appropriate action of the thyroid, which depends on a trifling supply of iodine,—may make

[1] An admirable analysis of ascetic practices may be found in *Varieties of Religious Experience* (p. 259), by William James, with many first-hand reports of the attitude of the Christian saints.

all the difference between idiocy and a decent degree of intelligence. An excess of urea in the blood may sap one's energy, sour one's temper, and degrade one's ideals. The constant interaction of what we call *body* and what we call *mind* may be illustrated in hundreds of ways. They cannot be clearly separated. Our bodily functioning constantly modifies our thoughts and feelings, and it seems equally clear that our thoughts influence deeply our circulation, our breathing, our digestion, and our available muscular strength.[1]

Those who cling to the older ideas of the soul have an unhappy habit of denouncing as "materialists" the scientists who reveal the bewildering competence of the body. This is an unfortunate old name handed down from times when matter, including the human body, was assumed to be evil.

Importance of Childhood; the Unconscious

At birth humankind are as helpless as the fledgling of a robin or the feckless progeny of a kangaroo. The baby cannot make terms with life from the start, like a caterpillar; it must be cherished by its elders and for a longer time than any other creature. This prolonged, pathetic dependence enables it very gradually to orient itself in its absolutely strange surroundings; to become civilized by learning the ways of man. An ant, a hen, or a colt starts off almost fully equipped. The chick and the colt grow, it is true, become stronger, and can later reproduce their kind; but compared with a child they change little in their capacities. A calf is a little cow, but a baby is not just a little man or woman. He will, according to his circumstances, learn to talk any language on the face of the earth; he may become a holy man in India, a Chinese bandit, a Polish pianist, a farmer, a steamship captain, a bio-

[1] Some physiologists and biochemists suspect that the messengers, *hormones*, sent out by the ductless glands always act as intermediaries in all our onsets and upsets, our hungers and rages, and, indeed, in the formation of our general character.

chemist, a Pennsylvania miner, an Episcopalian bishop, a Wall Street broker, a district visitor, a portrait painter, or a grocer. Each of these vocations, and thousands of other possible careers, requires him to make innumerable adjustments and acquire special habits peculiar to his situation and object in life.

In order to establish points of departure in clarifying ideas about mankind, investigators have hit upon certain terms which have gained some currency with the laity. They try to distinguish between the original, or animal, tendencies of mankind and the traits acquired by being brought up in highly artificial conditions. They study the behavior of babies and the process by which they learn and adjust themselves. They use the terms *stimulus* and *response*, which are common to animal and human behavior. An amœba reacts to certain stimuli, and the range of its reactions has been studied. A cat and a woman both react to the sight of a mouse, but differently. The dog on the hearth rug cares not whether his young master reads Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* or a detective story, but father and mother may well make a sharp distinction between the two works. The pianist is susceptible to many stimuli which may leave the Wall Street broker unmoved.

One of the most important of modern discoveries is that our behavior is by no means fully explained by the outward and manifest stimuli and reactions. Our susceptibility undergoes changes of which we are not conscious, and our reactions often surprise ourselves and others. We may have inexplicable dreads and aversions and mysterious longings and partialities for which we can give no reasonable explanation. This is not strange, however, when we realize that before we were two years old we had many vivid experiences which we have wholly forgotten, and that our memory of the first ten years of life is very imperfect. We had shocks and frights; we made wrong guesses, established prejudices, came to love and hate, as a

result of circumstances which later escape us. This produces what is called *the unconscious*. It is not a mystical term with scientific men, but a name for those potent factors in our responses which are due to our innate make-up, our early and forgotten experiences or to insensibly acquired habits which do not enter into our *conscious* thinking. Various ways have been devised for raising the unconscious factors into consciousness so that one may become aware of them and so understand better why he does as he does and wants what he wants, and why he finds himself in various distressing *conflicts* with what he calls his better self.

There are thoughts and visions coming to us all day and all night which for one reason and another we usually keep to ourselves. We have a feeling that many of them would bore other people or would humiliate us. Our dreams by day and by night sometimes contain reflections, desires, and animosities which we should be loath to acknowledge; yet they are all a part and a most important part of ourselves, and modern methods of studying dreams and spontaneous mental associations help to make ourselves clearer to ourselves. We can sometimes be led to recall early events in our lives which explain irrational fears and anxieties. Many physicians give much attention now to the state of mind of their patients and try to discover the psychic sources of worry, hidden remorse, or resentment. If one can throw off his "burdens," his physical vigor will often increase and his whole body function better. And this enlightenment may come from revealing unconscious or "repressed" factors in his thinking and emotions.

Many troubles are due to the conflict between one's desires and the rules prescribed by the *mores*, especially respecting the relations of men and women. In the Middle Ages passionate human love was thought to be an unclean thing. St. Augustine in his *City of God* declares that it was a result of the fall, and that no such disturbing element existed in man as he came from the hands of his creator. The monks and the nuns

abjured marriage and fled to monasteries to keep free from temptation or to cleanse themselves from past "sins of the flesh." So "sex" tended to become a disreputable and unholy subject, associated with impurity. So long as man's nature was called evil, and his body the enemy of his soul, this attitude was inevitable. Gradually, however, a more scientific view is beginning to prevail. The attraction of men and women for one another is, it is argued, a part of the natural order, which should be well understood and freed from the older associations. An understanding of it may better promote the chances of regulating an often troublesome urge than ignorance and suppression. It is not our business to discuss this matter here, but merely to note in passing why its consideration is so prominent today. It is the result of relinquishing medieval notions and striving for more scientific ones.

The general attitude toward childhood is altering as a consequence of the various discoveries which have been mentioned above. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that only recently has childhood been discovered. Once it was supposed that the duty of parent and teacher culminated in forcing the young to be obedient by fear and punishment and in keeping them properly ignorant of certain important matters. Modern teachers and parents have come to realize, however, that a child may be "spoiled" by harsh treatment as well as by overindulgence. Fear may beget timidity and chronic anxiety and even result in later disorders of a very serious type. Ignorance may produce morbid curiosity, misapprehensions, and fatal errors. The terrible responsibility of bringing up the young is now impressively apparent. We know now that the character of men and women is much more completely and definitely formed in infancy and early childhood than was previously suspected.

It is curious to observe that not until about the middle of the nineteenth century did this fact dawn on story-writers. Dickens has much to say of children in his novels, of their

maltreatment and sufferings under their stupid and even cruel elders. Daudet, in France, was impressed with the same thing. Samuel Butler's *Way of All Flesh* was written in the sixties of the last century, although he thought it unwise to publish so scathing a criticism of parents in his lifetime. Nowadays there are very many of the leading novelists who write stories dealing wholly with childhood, or at least give great attention to the early and formative years of their chief characters. Stories by H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, May Sinclair, Swinnerton, Hugh Walpole, and others illustrate the literary recognition of the scientific importance now attached to the permanent effects of childish impressions, which endure and largely determine all adult character.

The scientific investigation of the insane is the aim of abnormal psychology. It has been shown that those subject to obsessions, manias, melancholic states, delusions, and so forth are generally merely the victims of an excess of quite common and normal thoughts and emotions. They are not, as was formerly held, possessed by a devil, but have escaped from the usual balance of thought and conviction as determined by our daily surroundings and associations. The study of the exaggerations of the insane make the workings of minds esteemed normal clearer than they once were.[1]

The Problems of Education

As knowledge increases, the problems of education become more and more difficult. Education is what chiefly distinguishes man from other higher animals. He can learn far more than any other creature and can change his habits on a vastly more generous scale. Most that he learns comes to him informally as he grows up. His family, his companions, and his experiences are the great teachers. A recent writer has esti-

[1] See Bernard Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity*, a short and clear account of the newer ways of looking at both sane and insane.

mated that hardly more than a fifth of what is learned by the average person can be attributed to formal education in the classroom, even if one goes through college.[1] If one has educated parents, he may learn to read almost as soon as to speak. So most of our education lies outside the walls of the school. It consists in absorbing the prevailing *mores*, including the common run of information of the community in which we happen to be born, whether it be Tokyo, Belfast, Quito, or Plainfield, New Jersey. And this four fifths of education naturally greatly affects the other fifth, which may come to us in the way of systematic teaching and book-learning. In what is said here the term will be used in the sense of conscious, formal education.

In Volume I some attention was devoted to the education in the medieval universities. The so-called "arts course" was nominally confined to the seven liberal arts; that is, the studies regarded as suitable to a freeman (hence the term "liberal," derived from *liber*, "free"). These branches were grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. *As then taught*, the first three dealt with the rules for writing Latin in an elegant and logical fashion; the last four were essentially mathematical in form, and so the tradition was established that Latin and mathematics are fundamental subjects. By the sixteenth century Greek was often added in the better schools. Only in the nineteenth century were courses introduced in the modern languages and literatures, the various natural sciences, and lastly the so-called social sciences, such as history, political economy, politics, anthropology, sociology. Philosophy, in various forms, had had a place in university education from the thirteenth century onwards.

As for the advanced professional subjects, these had been three in the Middle Ages: theology, law, and medicine. In

[1] John Palmer Gavit, in his excellent book *College*. It is of course quite impossible to establish any precise ratio between the results of formal and informal education. That adopted here is merely used for illustrative purposes.

the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth, schools of engineering (civil, mechanical, mining, electrical), education, and business were established to meet the demand for technical instruction in professions which had either not existed previously or had been learned outside the schools and universities. So it came about that not only the variety of subjects included in high school and college as "liberal arts" was greatly increased, but a wide range of professional departments, a few only of which were mentioned above, were organized to prepare students for their chosen life work.

While the teaching in professional or vocational schools is often severely criticized, it is certainly much easier to plan out a scheme of instruction suitable to a trade or a profession than to settle on what phases of human knowledge should be emphasized in school and college as best fitting one for life in general. Modern Western nations often require that their citizens should be forced to learn to read and write and deal with elementary arithmetic, and in this they have been astonishingly successful. The very recent constitutions of Turkey and Egypt provide for elementary schools and propose to remedy the illiteracy which has hitherto prevailed in these lands, as it did everywhere, even in western Europe and America down to the middle of the nineteenth century. The further elements in a liberal education remain as yet doubtful and controversial. Some would still rely upon attention to the ancient languages of Greece and Rome and upon mathematics and formal logic; others believe in natural science, others in preparing for citizenship through a study of political economy and politics, others in religious education; others recommend a broad acquaintance with literature. This quandary and conflict of opinion is the outcome of the historical traditions and changes which have been recalled. Obviously there is no simple answer to be looked for.

It may be pointed out that educational reformers have to consider the four fifths of education which they cannot easily

control. All fundamental advance in education which changes opinion and begets enlightenment based upon fresh knowledge depends upon putting new discoveries in a form that will not seriously disturb prevailing ideas. As was pointed out in an earlier chapter, there has always been a sort of chronic or endemic conflict between the general human longing to feel that important matters are settled, and the conviction on the part of a few that much more is to be found out about everything. Teachers have to be prudent in calling the attention of their students to knowledge which seems to impugn beliefs and customs generally accepted as right and proper—in short, the *mores*. This has always been the case; but the situation is rather more acute than it used to be, partly because education is so much more widespread.

In the Middle Ages there was a great dread of religious heresy, and teachers suspected of "novelties" in their teaching suffered harsh penalties. In 1819 Metternich, intent upon protecting his system of the divine right of kings, had laws passed in Germany providing that teachers who advanced ideas "subversive of existing governmental institutions" should be permanently deprived of their positions. In 1920 the so-called Lusk laws, passed by the legislature of New York, disbarred teachers suspected of harboring socialistic or pacifist theories. In 1925 the legislature of Tennessee made it a punishable offense for any of the teachers in institutions receiving support from the state "to teach any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, and to teach instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals." So whether the medieval church, monarchs by the grace of God, or democratically elected legislators be in power, there is the inevitable fear of subversive doctrine.

The arguments for liberty in the matter of teaching may be deduced from Milton's *Areopagitica*, supplemented by John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*, published over two centuries later (1859). Those who have tried to make abrupt or fundamental

changes in mankind's ways of thinking have been subject to ill-treatment by their contemporaries. It may well be, as Mill says, that "to discover to the world something which deeply concerns it, and of which it was previously ignorant; to prove to it that it has been mistaken on some vital point of temporal or spiritual interest is as important a service as a human being can render to his fellow creatures"; but to convince one's fellow creatures forthwith that one has made such a discovery is too much to expect! Those who are troubled with this incorrigible fact may comfort themselves and reënforce their patience and prudence with the following reflections of Mr. Mill:

> Socrates was put to death, but the Socratic philosophy rose like the sun in the heaven and spread its illumination over the whole intellectual firmament. Christians were cast to the lions, but the Christian church grew up a stately and spreading tree, overtopping the older and less vigorous growths, and stifling them by its shade. Our merely social intolerance kills no one, roots out no opinions, but induces men to disguise them, or to abstain from any active effort for their diffusion. With us heretical opinions do not perceptibly gain, or even lose, ground in each decade or generation; they never blaze out far and wide, but continue to smolder in narrow circles of thinking and studious persons among whom they originate, without ever lighting up the general affairs of mankind with either a true or a deceptive light. And thus is kept up a state of things very satisfactory to some minds, because, without the unpleasant process of fining or imprisoning anybody, it maintains all prevailing opinions outwardly undisturbed, while it does not absolutely interdict the exercise of reason by dissentients afflicted with the malady of thought.

Teachers, especially those employed by governments, cannot hope to say always all that they think, or to suggest all the inferences which may be drawn from scientific knowledge; but everywhere there is such liberty of expression that it is possible to put into books, if not always in the more widely diffused newspapers and magazines, any criticism however harsh of existing ideas and institutions.

Moreover, attempts to suppress ideas often advertise them, as was the case when the *parlement* of Paris had some of the works of Voltaire and Diderot burned. The action of the Tennessee legislature brought the arguments for the evolutionary theory to the attention of many who would otherwise have known little about the matter. The exclusion by the United States authorities of certain Europeans thought to be "dangerous radicals" gives the newspapers an opportunity to disseminate their ideas far more effectively than they could themselves do it. So it becomes harder and harder for any group of people to stifle the publication of ideas which they dislike.

The ever-increasing insight into man's nature, setting, and workings which is coming with our modern scientific methods of studying him will no doubt have a great influence upon future historians. They will take note of essential matters which escaped their predecessors; their interpretation will be more profound and their perspective truer. The interplay between our knowledge of humanity in its present and in its past manifestations will be intensified, and history will no longer suffer under the imputations of superficiality and barrenness, but will emerge as an acknowledged instrument for the increase of human understanding.

CHAPTER XL

PLANS FOR BETTERING HUMAN RELATIONS

Ideals begotten of Modern Possibilities

One of the most striking results of the vast increase of human knowledge and skill reviewed in the preceding chapters —all the multiform inventions and discoveries, the expediting of human movements and intercommunication, the rapid, mechanical methods of producing and distributing food, raiment, and the luxuries dear to man's heart—has been to augment beyond belief the *possibilities* of life. We are no longer confined to the scanty range of choices open to previous generations. We are offered a bewildering variety of alternatives from which we may make a selection. For in no foregoing age were so many people able to do and have so many kinds of things as today. The weakening of established routine brings with it, however, new responsibilities, for we have to make far more frequent decisions and readjustments in conduct and belief than were formerly demanded. This is exhilarating to alert and courageous temperaments; but it is sometimes perplexing and wearisome to the less adventurous, who have a taste for fixed rules and who rejoice in the thought that their habits are consecrated by time and not new and experimental.

Modern possibilities have generated fresh and ambitious ideals—hopes and plans for a future better than anything in the past for those who are not afraid to transcend tradition. Something was said of reforms and reformers in the first volume (pp. 367 ff.). All through history one finds traces of those who tried to improve conditions, or advance knowledge, or elevate character. Prophets, sages, philosophers, discov-

erers, and preachers are no new phenomena. But one may say in general that until recently reformers either addressed themselves to the individual whom they aspired to lead into the path of insight and virtue or, on the other hand, to groups of their fellow men with the hope of inducing them to return to good old ways, which had been deserted. They very rarely indeed dreamed of a novel and general reconstruction of human relations. The possibilities were too circumscribed and the prevailing conditions much too firmly established to permit of this. Only with our recent discoveries of the potentialities of human advance in knowledge and reorganization was the imagination of idealists so stirred that they began, like Condorcet, to gaze down a limitless vista of progress unprecedented in human experience.

The French have been wont since their memorable first great revolution to inscribe on their public buildings LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY. The last of these noble aspirations is perhaps better translated Brotherhood. These three are in a sense one, like the profound and long-cherished religious conception of the Trinity. They are, moreover, not merely ideals, but to some extent the expression of impressive historical achievements which can hardly have escaped the reader, as he has followed the story of our Western civilization.

We have noted great gains in the matter of *liberty*. The older forms of slavery have been extinguished. Men and women are no longer chattels to be bought and sold like horses or cows. They are no longer even serfs attached to the land and disposed of along with fields and houses. Governments no longer claim to own the people and land over which they rule. Moreover, the right of speaking and writing what one thinks and of believing what one will about heavenly and earthly matters is greatly extended, and is now limited rather by a discreet consideration of the *mores* than by law. Full half the human race, namely the women, has gained in Western countries a range of freedom previously unknown.

Down to 1870 an English married woman enjoyed no property rights; even her personal possessions belonged to her husband. She was in a sense her husband's serf. She could not make a valid contract, nor sue or be sued; and her husband could legally beat her for disobedience if he did not use too large a stick. If she injured another person or his property, her husband was held for damages, just as if his dog or his bull had hurt a neighbor. Now women, married or unmarried, can go to the polls in many countries, can secure an education, and can enter, if they will, a great variety of business positions. These innovations have spread to distant lands—Egypt, Turkey, Japan, and China, where significant changes are taking place in the status of women.

Equality before the law is recognized in all modern constitutions. Class distinctions have disappeared or are on the way to disappear. Dress for both men and women becomes more and more uniform, the outward sign of social equality. Europeans, Americans, and Australians are garbed alike, and it is hard to tell kings or queens by their clothes from anyone else able to buy a suit or gown in the prevailing style. Reading and writing are taken for granted in Western countries, and schools, libraries, and museums are open to all who have the ambition to take advantage of them. Conveniences and comforts are available, even for the poor, of which King Louis XVIII had no inkling; he never heard of a match, of a postage stamp, of a photograph.

As for *brotherhood*, which means friendliness, mutual understanding, good will, sympathy, fairness, humanity, it has made a good deal of progress since Jesus taught that we should love our neighbor as ourself, and the Stoics proclaimed the brotherhood of man. Although war, ferocious partisan misrepresentation, and industrial oppression are discouragingly familiar, all these are, however, becoming less reputable and more generally deprecated than ever before. The treatment of the poor and the sick, of the criminal and the insane, is

far more intelligent and kindly than formerly. Our free clinics, free hospital wards, the mitigations of the ancient horrors of prisons and insane asylums, all betoken an increasing solicitude for our brothers.

This is not due to any change in "human nature," which will probably always make cruel and ruthless responses to the stimuli which have hitherto called them forth. The change is due, it may be conjectured, to our closer and more varied contacts with our fellow men. We have to depend upon their help in so many obvious ways and must associate with them in common means of transportation and in all the continual business of life. Bacteria are so democratic and insensible to social distinctions that we have to become our brother's keeper in our own interest. In view of our modern resources, poverty, squalor, dirt, and evil smells seem less excusable than they once were. New knowledge and insight are, at bottom, the stimuli which produce the responses of humanitarian endeavor and the plans for doing away with slums and raising the standards of decency.[1]

The word "democracy" sums up the trend of modern times. The extension of the right to vote for governmental representatives and officials is but a symptom and illustration of the wide-sweeping tendency to bring everyone into the game. And this is but a recognition of an increasing intimacy of classes and nations due to mankind's present facile intercommunication and ever-increasing interdependence. Democracy implies the abolition of the older traditional and artificial distinctions between various classes of men, and the hope of so rearranging social relations as to give everyone a fair chance according to his natural capacities.

It is no longer the tyranny of the slave owner, of the feudal baron, of the Church or the monarch, but the far more

[1] Had it been possible in these volumes to include a history of what the French call *la vie intime*, or personal habits and *mores*, our increasing refinements would become still more apparent.

fundamental and persistent oppression of *poverty* and *ignorance* against which present-day reformers array themselves.

But progress is pretty sure to breed new forms of discontent, just as increasing knowledge reveals hitherto unsuspected mysteries. The advantage of historical study is that it may encourage us by explaining the origin of old evil habits and the ways in which they have later been overcome, and at the same time it should reconcile us to the fact that most changes for the better generate fresh problems. For all improvement serves inevitably to raise our standards; it calls attention to hitherto unnoticed deficiencies and stimulates us to set new and more distant goals for ourselves. So, in the very nature of things, reform can never come to an end so long as men continue to learn and aspire.

Everyone likely to read this book is a reformer in some respects. He would gladly see something changed: have his burdens lightened, his income increased, or his friends improved. These ambitions are common to the least imaginative. Others aspire to abolish child labor, or to defend the Constitution, or to draw the United States into the League of Nations, or to elevate the drama, or to convert the Japanese to Christianity, or to keep a wicked novel out of the mails. Some reformers confine themselves to combating attacks upon existing arrangements; but to lessen the danger of change is, for those who dread it, in itself a sort of reform. Consequently the usual distinction between reformers and conservatives often rests upon a misunderstanding. Those ardent for a particular kind of readjustment may be heartily opposed to other suggestions of change. The overwhelming mass of humanity is not interested in general reform, but is absorbed in making a living under existing circumstances and in rearing a family according to the current *mores*. Those who talk and write about reform are few in number and have a tendency to divide into two classes: some, for various personal and temperamental reasons, find themselves fearing

and fighting change; others find themselves drawn into ardent advocacy of revolutionary proposals, such as those of the French terrorists and the Russian Bolsheviki. Both these classes are inevitably more prominent than the more moderate and patient idealists, who content themselves with influencing so far as they can the trend of affairs in some particular realm of human interest. Such moderates are not uncommonly denounced as radicals by those who fail to understand or sympathize with their plans, and as conservatives by those to whom they seem timid and feeble temporizers.

The heat of religious controversy, so fervent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, has notably abated and given way to frankly economic and social issues. Questions of government no longer turn on the powers of kings, nobles, and clergy as against the commons, but upon the rights of labor and capital. Business, by reason of its vast extension and possibilities, due to scientific inventions, has become so pervasive and absorbing that its reconstruction seems for the present age the paramount issue. It is a mistake to see in this merely "the sickness of an acquisitive society," or a base squabble over profits, dividends, wages, and hours. It is much more than that to many thoughtful persons. To them the fundamental question is how are the modern and ever-growing resources of human industrial power to be so managed as to reduce general poverty, wasteful disorder, anxiety, oppression, and ill-feeling, and insure to a vastly increased number of human beings a secure livelihood and a fair degree of leisure. A well-known Boston merchant has well expressed the finer aspects of economic emulation:

> We cannot teach spiritual truths effectively to a starving people. One great way to make more beauty in this world is to make the obtaining of a living—the obtaining of the necessary food, clothing, and shelter, and the necessary minimum of luxuries—so mechanical and so little time-consuming that we all shall have time for avocations—have time to work for and search for better things—to

search for beauty. This can be accomplished by saving of waste, by more economic justice, by invention and better organization of production and distribution, by better training of workers and leaders.—Edward Filene

During the past century many measures have been taken for the relief of poverty and the protection of workingmen by governments, labor-unions, and private corporations. But in spite of factory legislation, old-age pensions, insurance against unemployment and accident, and coöperative and protective associations, poverty and daily insecurity remain a grave problem, for, as has been said, our standards continue to rise and our ideals to expand with each new achievement or hope of achievement. Certainly few who are familiar with the conditions a hundred years ago would care to revert to them, which is only another way of saying that betterment goes on, even if it is slow and disappointing. We must now turn to the theories of those who feel that only by a sudden or gradual revolution in man's whole economic organization is industrial peace and justice to be established on earth.

Beginnings of Socialism

During the French Revolution there were many suggestions for getting rid of the rich as well as of the aristocrats, and realizing a thoroughgoing ideal of republican simplicity and virtue. Saint-Just, the young and ardent supporter of Robespierre, outlined a treatise on republican institutions. He held that opulence was a crime. "We must have neither rich nor poor. The poor man is superior to government and the powers of the world, of which he should regard himself as the master." François Babeuf advocated absolute community of property and was executed in 1797 for conspiring to put his ideas of equality into practice. After Napoleon's downfall, notwithstanding the political reaction, general reformers increased; they have continued to become more and more numerous and

varied in their recommendations down to the present day. They did not spring from the downtrodden class, but were often well-to-do idealists. Among those of the first half of the nineteenth century Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Robert Owen assume a leading place. The first is commonly regarded as the founder of French socialism. He was the heir to a great name and a considerable fortune. After demonstrating his love of liberty by participating in the American War of Independence, he devoted himself to the study of means of improving the social order. He came to the conclusion that the government should organize and manage industry through associations which would secure to each worker a reward proportionate to his services to the State.

Another Frenchman, Charles Fourier (1772–1837), held, in opposition to Saint-Simon, that the central government could not possibly manage properly the great business enterprises necessary to human welfare, so he urged the formation of groups of families into what he called "phalanxes," each of which should contain about two thousand members. Each group was to own buildings and all the needful implements for the production of the necessities of life. The total product was to be divided up in the following manner: capital was to receive four twelfths, labor five twelfths, and the talent necessary for the proper management of the phalanxes was to receive three twelfths. Fourier believed that in this way universal harmony would be produced. His theories won many sympathizers, especially in the United States, among men of no less insight than Horace Greeley, Charles A. Dana, and George William Curtis. The experiment of actually founding a species of phalanx was made in Massachusetts by the Brook Farm Colony, of which several distinguished Americans were members for a time.

In England the first great exponent of "socialism" was Robert Owen (1771–1858), a successful manufacturer and a generous friend of the poor. Like Fourier, he believed that he

had found the secret of the regeneration of mankind in the formation of coöperative groups which should own and use for their own benefit all the means of production necessary for their common life. He wrote numerous works and tracts and preached his doctrine with untiring zeal; he even appealed to the crowned heads of Europe to take up his plan, and came to the United States to defend it before the House of Representatives. Several of his proposed colonies were actually founded in Great Britain and also in the United States (for example, at New Harmony, Indiana), but they failed for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, Owen's writings and labors influenced the working classes in England. It is probable, too, that we are indebted to Owen for the word "socialism."

All these theorists had much in common. They were deeply moved by the misery which they saw about them, they boldly condemned the system of society in which they lived, and they proposed a revolution which should remedy its evils. They did not reckon, however, with the great complexity of human nature or the respect for tradition which always stands in the way of change. They assumed that it would only be necessary to present a reasonable and beautiful theory of harmony and plenty to induce men to found a new social order. They all appealed to the upper classes for aid in realizing their schemes and made no attempt to organize the great mass of workingmen into political parties for the purpose of getting control of the government and forcing it to forward their plans. The modern socialists therefore look back upon these men as unpractical "utopians" who often had good ideas, but who were, after all, mere dreamers.

Socialism was taken up in France before the Revolution of 1848 by revolutionary leaders of the working classes. Louis Blanc even succeeded in gaining a momentary recognition in the first days of the Second Republic, but, owing to the slight support which he enjoyed, he was able to accomplish nothing. In England some of the Chartists aimed at socialistic reforms,

and in the insurrection at Berlin in 1848 the workingmen ventured to advocate some socialistic changes, but nowhere did the movement produce any immediate results.

Marx and the Theory of the Class Struggle

It was on the eve of the Revolution of 1848 that two young Germans, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, formulated the principles of a new socialism in a proclamation known as the *Communist Manifesto*, which was destined to become the creed of one of the greatest international movements the world has ever seen.

Marx may be regarded as the founder of international socialism, although there is no doubt that he owed a great deal to the labors of his colleague. He was born in 1818 in Trèves, reared in an enlightened home, and educated at the University of Bonn. He had early decided upon the career of a university professor; but the boldness of his speech and his radical tendencies barred his way, and consequently he entered journalism. His attacks on the Prussian government led to the suppression of his paper in 1843, and the close surveillance of the police caused him to migrate to Paris. He was expelled from France, however, and after some wanderings he finally settled in London, where he studied and wrote until his death in 1883.

Throughout his life Marx wrote voluminously on history, philosophy, and current politics, and he was for a time a correspondent of the *New York Tribune* when it was under the management of Horace Greeley. His fundamental views on political economy were brought together in a large work of three volumes entitled *Das Kapital* ("Capital"), the first part of which appeared in 1867, but which was left unfinished at his death.[1] This work is so widely circulated among socialist leaders that it is sometimes called the workingman's Bible,

[1] This work has been translated into English and all the languages of the Continent.

although it contains very few pages indeed that would enlighten a person seeking the cardinal doctrines of modern socialism which Marx laid down. These are to be found throughout his scattered writings and especially in the *Communist Manifesto*, mentioned above.

From the standpoint of the historian, as well as that of the reformer, perhaps the most striking of Marx's doctrines is the economic, or so-called "materialistic," interpretation of history. He emphasized many important factors in human development which had been rather neglected by previous writers, and reached the conclusion that the manner in which, throughout the ages, men have procured a livelihood and met their material needs, and the ways in which commodities have been produced, constitute the real foundations or essentials of history. It is, he claimed, economic demands and the various measures taken to meet them that determine, in the last instance, the institutions, ideals, and social classes of any given period. It is the changes in economic conditions that underlie and explain all other great changes. We may look for economic explanations even of the rise and flourishing of various forms of religion, art, and philosophy. Although Marx and his followers press their economic interpretations farther than man's nature or the recorded facts seem to justify, there can be no doubt that they represent a rather novel and highly fruitful point of view from which to study the past.

As a corollary to his general theory, Marx maintained that social classes began to appear with the development of ancient civilization, and that so long as they continue to exist a *class war* will prevail, sometimes violent and open, like a peasant revolt, sometimes in the form of chronic antagonism. It cannot be permanently allayed until the present capitalistic class, together with the governments which it controls in its own interests, gives place to the "proletariat," or great mass of non-propertied, wage-earning workers, at present still subject to capitalistic "exploitation." Then the State will

become an organizing power in the interests of all, and, it is assumed, exploitation will be at an end. So the four watchwords of Marxian socialism which resound in modern economic discussion are "materialistic interpretation of history," "class struggle," "bourgeois exploitation," and the final "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Marx differs fundamentally from the utopian theorists—Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Owen—in repudiating the idea that socialism can be introduced by voluntary agreements among kindly disposed persons. He claimed that the new order could not be established artificially, but would inevitably come as a result of the Industrial Revolution which was destined to widen the gulf between capitalists and workingmen and introduce intense competition. He says:

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, have stood in constant antagonism to one another and carried on an uninterrupted warfare, now secret, now open, which has in every case ended either in the revolutionary reconstruction of society at large or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . . The modern society that has sprung from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch—the epoch of the bourgeoisie—possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly opposed to each other, bourgeoisie and proletariat.

In this struggle Marx believed that the working class would win by uniting to overthrow the capitalist class; *not, however, by dividing up the property*—which would even to a socialist seem sheer folly—but by *transferring ownership to the state or nation as a whole, which should operate the means of production for the direct profit of the whole people.*

Marx contended that the very development of modern industry favors the establishment of socialism. Wealth and industries are concentrating in the control of great companies, trusts, and corporations, which are managed from a central office and are carried on by salaried employees and manual laborers, while the capitalist is becoming only a stockholder, an idle drone drawing dividends earned for him by other men. Hence, argued Marx, the capitalist has become a mere owner of property, as useless as the feudal lords in the eighteenth century, who neither fought in the armies nor protected the peasants around their castles as their ancestors had done, but crowded about the court of the king, where they lived magnificently on revenues collected by their stewards from the poor people who tilled their estates. Marx therefore predicted that in time the capitalist's right of ownership will be abolished, and that the salaried employees of the great corporations will become the salaried clerks of the government when it takes over all the industries for the common good; thus socialism would be established.

It seems to the Marxian socialist that labor, in the broadest sense of the word, is the source of all wealth, whether this consists in houses, railroads, shoes and stockings, flour and potatoes, books, pictures, schools, libraries, newspapers, chemical laboratories, or telephones. It was labor, they argue, which produced the capital necessary to establish the factories or railroads, and it is labor which keeps up the stream of goods of all kinds and directs man's energies into new and profitable fields. Everyone who contributes in any way to the welfare of mankind should have his share in the general output, whether he be a simple day laborer or an engineer, manager, inventor, designer, teacher, author, editor, or artist.

But as industry is now organized, the socialist holds, those who happen to have money to invest in machines, farms, and mines often derive a very large revenue from them without taking any part in the work. Consequently the socialists would

turn over all the means of production to the State, just as the roads, the waterworks, the telegraphs and telephones, and the postal system are now frequently in the hands of the government. Private ownership would then be confined to personal effects and articles of consumption: food, clothing, furniture, pictures, and books. They believe that this would free the poor from the "exploitation" of the rich capitalists, who now too often control the newspapers and the lawmaking in their own interests and are able to arrange everything to increase their personal share in the wealth produced. The extinction of the capitalist is to the socialist the only method of relieving the people as a whole from poverty and oppression.

To those who raise a cry against the injustice of this plan Marx replies:

> You are horrified at our intention to do away with private property. But in your existing form of society private property is already done away with for nine tenths of the people; its existence for the few is solely due to its nonexistence in the hands of those nine tenths.

So long, he urges, as the fundamental vice remains, the well-meaning efforts of "economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organizers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance agitators, and hole-and-corner reformers of every kind" must prove vain or insignificant.

In the name of "true democracy and human welfare" Marx and his followers summon the proletariat of every land (who, they urge, have nothing to lose except their chains) to unite and make the world their own. They believe victory to be inevitable. They hold up before the workingman a picture of a time to come when the idle will be set to labor and no one will become rich at the cost of his neighbor; when everyone will have an opportunity to develop for the benefit of society the best that is in him. Poverty will then disappear; and all men, organized into a great army for the conquest of

nature, will emancipate themselves from hunger and disease and live together in harmony and brotherly love.[1]

Socialistic parties developed in Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Russia, and elsewhere and began to play a very active part in political campaigns. Although England was the first to feel the effects of the Industrial Revolution, she was the last important country in which a real socialistic party developed.[2] In 1883 the Social Democratic Federation was formed to promote the teachings of Marx. This advocated the abolition of the monarchy and of the House of Lords. About 1893 there came into existence, under the leadership of Keir Hardie, a more moderate socialistic body, known as the Independent Labor party. Its adherents rejected Marx's notion of an inevitable class conflict.

The well-known Fabian Society,[3] of which Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, and H. G. Wells have been distinguished members, originated in the early eighties for the purpose of doing away with the waste and misery which our industrial system entails. The Fabians rejected many of the doctrines of Marx, but at the same time advocated the municipal or national ownership of land and industrial capital. They did not form a political party, but relied upon bringing about better things by writing and lecturing and thus leading people to realize the possibility of reform.

[1] Another remedy for poverty was offered by Henry George in his famous work *Progress and Poverty*, in which he contended that the increase in the value of lands in the cities is due not to the labors of the owners but to the growth of population and industries near by. He therefore argued that all increase in the value of land not due to improvements should be taken in the form of a land tax known as the "single tax." He held that this would give the government an ample revenue and abolish poverty besides.

[2] The "Christian socialism," which Charles Kingsley and others began to preach in the forties, did not advocate the government ownership of the means of production but placed its hopes in "copartnership" workshops owned and managed by the workingmen.

[3] So called from the policy of the Roman dictator Fabius, who "gained his end by going slowly" (*cunctando restituit rem*).

In 1901 a Labor Representation Committee was formed in England to secure the united action of the many trade-unions and the Independent Labor party. This committee in 1905 pledged itself to work for the chief objects of socialism. When a general election to Parliament occurred in 1906, the committee, with the aid of the Social Democrats and the Independent Labor party, succeeded in returning no less than fifty labor representatives to the House of Commons. A large number of these were avowed socialists.[1]

The socialists have usually maintained that the revolution they advocate in government, business, and trade is not limited to this nation or that, but is to be a great *international* reform affecting workingmen regardless of the country in which they happen to live; hence the war cry "Workers of the world unite!" In 1864 Karl Marx had helped to form an international organization of those interested in the spread of socialism. This "First International" was discredited by the violent action of the Paris Communists in 1871 and finally disappeared. A "Second International" was founded in the eighties and is still in existence.

This was not radical enough to please the extreme party, and in 1918 a "Third International" was organized in Moscow under the auspices of the Bolsheviki. This has adherents in many European countries. Those in power in Russia belonged to it; and one of the chief reasons why the United States persistently refused to recognize the Russian Bolshevik government was the fact that it was identified with the avowed attempt to overturn the whole "capitalistic" system of other countries.

Opposition to Socialism

Inevitably the socialist movement, aiming at such revolutionary changes in modern society, aroused strong opposition. Many who freely acknowledge the poverty which exists be-

[1] An account of the Labor ministry of 1924 is given below.

lieve that, whatever advantages socialism may have in theory, it would be impossible to gain these advantages in practice because the government could not manage such huge business concerns honestly and economically.

General incompetence, laziness, dishonesty, and wastefulness are natural whenever individuals cannot be closely watched and sharply controlled, and losses due to this cause are greater in proportion to the magnitude of the interests managed. In the socialistic hierarchy of State employees, from the highest executives and managers to the humblest unskilled laborers, when every administrator would be managing not his own but the collective wealth, and every laborer and group of laborers (who are also voters) would have his ability and honesty watched not by the sharp eye of the intensely interested private owner, but by the shadowy gaze of official inspectors and by a still more shadowy public opinion, these tendencies would have still greater chance of working without correction or punishment, with the inevitable consequence of a greatly diminished total production. Would not each group and each individual in each group be constantly complaining of every other group and every other individual in his group?—SIMONSON

Most thoughtful opponents of socialism are agreed that it would prove very difficult if not wholly impossible for the government to distribute the wealth produced among those who participated in its production. They argue that wages are now determined by competition and that each worker gets substantially what his services are worth to the community; but if all wealth produced in a year were at the disposal of the government, on what basis could it be fairly distributed among inventors, teachers, manual laborers, farmers, and other workers? If all shared equally—the brilliant and the dull, the inventor and the most unskilled laborer, the idler and the industrious—it is maintained that individual skill and energy, which now promote progress, would be destroyed. On the other hand, if incomes are to be unequal in the socialist state, on what rules shall the shares be apportioned?

It is absolutely impossible to ascertain how much of the value of the common product each individual has produced, especially as, even in the socialist state, this would be a result not only of personal labor but also of the means of production belonging in common to the whole of society and of the help afforded by nature. . . . The leading promise of social democracy that each laborer will receive the full value of what he produces is therefore practically and theoretically untenable.—SCHÄFFLE

The owners of property naturally resist socialism as an attack on their rights and as subversive of the institution of private ownership, which has been approved by centuries of human experience. They also contend that most fortunes have been accumulated by industry, thrift, and self-denial, and that any attempt to reduce them would be essentially unjust.

It is also urged that it is contrary to the very nature of things that competition and the struggle of classes should cease, as the socialist dreams, and that men should live together in harmonious coöperation. Nature has decreed a perpetual struggle of man with man: in the contest might wins and becomes right, the weak lose and are crowded to the wall, the inferior sink in the conflict, and no laws of man can correct the inequalities which nature has created. As a French writer puts it:

There is no social justice because Nature herself is not just. Injustice and inequality are with us from the cradle. From the cradle to the grave, . . . the inequality of Nature follows man step by step. This appears under a thousand forms,—natural inequality, the chances of birth and inheritance, physical advantages or disadvantages, intellectual disparities, and the inequalities of destiny. . . . Without the conflict of individuals, races, and classes—in a word, without universal conflict—man would never have emerged from savagery at all, and would never have attained to civilization.

LE BON

These are the standard arguments against socialism which fully satisfy the great majority of its opponents: (1) govern-

ments would prove incompetent, wasteful, and unenterprising in the conduct of business as compared with individuals or corporations actuated by the hope of profits; (2) the factors concerned in the production of wealth are so numerous that no ideal method of distributing it among the producers can be conceived, let alone put in practice; (3) private ownership has on the whole worked well in the incredible development of modern industry, and it would be both unjust and disastrous to infringe it; (4) competition is a law of nature itself and cannot be done away with, and efforts to defy it have, according to the "laissez-faire" school, always proved calamitous.

Socialism, it should not be forgotten, is a product of the nineteenth century. In spite of the ruthless effort to introduce Marxian communism into practice in Russia, and the fact that both Germany and Austria became socialistic republics after the World War, the theories on which socialism is based are the outcome of the earlier phase of the Industrial Revolution. Tremendous changes are taking place in methods of production and its financing which neither Marx nor his critics could have foreseen. The course of events has not followed his conjectures,[1] and the advance of scientific discovery and invention promises many ways of mitigating poverty without any such wholesale repudiation of the existing economic organization as he forecast. The sharp distinction between capitalist and laborer inclines, at least in the United States, to become softened by the tendency of the employees to become shareholders in the companies for which they work.[2] The Russian experiment, to which we now turn, may therefore be regarded as a hazardous attempt to put into practice in a backward country a system based upon prepossessions and assumptions which the Western world has already transcended.

[1] See V. G. Simkhovitch, *Marxism versus Socialism.*

[2] For a highly optimistic view see Thomas Nixon Carver, *The Present Economic Revolution in the United States.*

The Russian Experiment in Communism

Some account of the history of Russia under its Tsars has been given in previous chapters. We have seen how the liberal leaders who tried to introduce Western ideas and secure a constitution were cruelly persecuted by the government officials. With the deposition of the House of Romanov and the subsequent victory of the extreme socialists, which came before the end of the World War, an extraordinary experiment in communism was begun in Russia which has been going on since 1917. Under the leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviki attempted to carry out a complete social and economic revolution by which the *laboring classes* should be given control not only of the government but of the land and factories and business in general, which were to be managed thereafter in the interests of the workmen and peasants. The peasants availed themselves of the situation to seize the estates of the great landowners and even the land of the *richer* peasants. Factories, banks, and mines were taken over by the nation to be used for the benefit of the proletariat. The older government was replaced by a system of *soviets*, or councils, elected by groups of workers in the various factories, trades, and occupations, and by the farmers. There were local and provincial soviets, and the latter elected representatives to the All-Russian Congress at Moscow.

Naturally these revolutionary changes aroused bitter opposition. In order to stifle this the Bolsheviki suppressed many forms of freedom and resorted to the cruel imprisonment and killing of their enemies—a method with which they had long been familiar under the despotic rule of the Tsar. The leaders of the Bolsheviki claimed that these terrible measures were only temporary, but were necessary to carry out the revolution against the opposition of its many enemies within and without Russia.

An assembly was elected late in 1917 to draw up a new constitution for Russia, but the Bolshevik leaders found that it

would not accept their ideas, and were able to dissolve it. In July, 1918, an All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which took the place of a national parliament or congress, proclaimed a constitution for the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic. Russia was declared a federation of "free nations," any one of which might retire from the union if it so desired. The Russian federation included Russia proper, White Russia, Ukraine, the Transcaucasian Soviet Republic, and the Far-Eastern Republic, established in Siberia.

The constitution provided that the power in the State shall belong entirely to "the toiling masses" and shall be exercised through their representatives in the soviets. "The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: 'He shall not eat who does not work.'" Only "workers" may vote; consequently no one may vote or hold office who hires labor to increase his income, or who lives on his capital without doing any work, or who is a private merchant, broker, clergyman, or monk.

Private property in land is abolished, the land is to be nationalized and distributed among the farmers according to their ability to till it, and the former owners shall receive no compensation. All forests and treasures of the earth are declared national property. Arrangements are to be made for transferring the ownership of all factories, mills, mines, railways, and the like to the Soviet Republic. Banks and all financial operations are to be taken away from the former capitalists and to be managed in the interest of the proletariat.

Finally, "for the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialistic Red Army be organized and the propertied class disarmed."

While the Russian Soviet Republic denounced the old kind of wars for additional territory and colonies, it declared a new

kind of world war on capitalistic industry and trade of all kinds. It proposed to fight for the "victory of socialism in all lands." The representatives of extreme communism of the Russian type made attempts in Germany, Hungary, and Italy, especially, to introduce the soviet control of business. There were communist uprisings in various industrial cities. In Munich and Budapest the communists were actually in power for a short time. In Berlin there was a sharp conflict between the extreme communists, known as the Spartacides, and the moderate socialists. All over central Europe workmen here and there seized factories and set up "workers' councils" something like the Russian soviets.

Resistance to Communism in Central Europe

These attempts of the "reds" to introduce Russian communism had different results in Germany, Hungary, and Italy. In Germany the constitution of the new republic, drawn up at Weimar during the early part of 1919, was extremely *democratic*, but suggested a scarcely more *socialistic* program than that which Bismarck himself had sanctioned. Germany had to be weaned from the old monarchical traditions, but it had been long familiar with state ownership in one form and another and with government alleviation of poverty. It is true that socialists, including the first president of the new German republic, Ebert, were predominant in public affairs after the close of the war, but the moderate socialists were contented with a political revolution and fought against the extreme communists in their attempt to precipitate an economic one.

The republic retained the old name of *Das Deutsche Reich*, for *Reich* means "realm" as well as "empire." It permitted both men and women over twenty years of age to vote, thus expressing a modern confidence in the young. The *Reichstag* is to represent the German people, the *Reichsrat* the German states, all of which must, according to the constitution, be

republics. In the Reichsrat each state has as many representatives as it has millions of inhabitants, but even the tiny states have at least one representative. But the old predominance of Prussia is done away with, for no state may have more than two fifths of the votes. Prussia gave itself a new constitution in November, 1920, which provided in Article 2 that "the sovereignty of the state resides in the whole people." The efforts both of communists and of old-fashioned royalists, who did not hesitate to resort to assassination, failed to overthrow the republic.

In Hungary Count Michael Karolyi attempted to establish a republic as the World War was coming to an end in 1918. But a communist revolt under Bela Kun upset all his plans. In April, 1919, the supreme power was declared to be in the hands of councils composed of workers, soldiers, and peasants, and a soviet constitution was drawn up. But soon came a royalist reaction and a "white terror" such as has often accompanied the reëstablishment of conservative control. Admiral Horthy became the reactionary regent in a nominal monarchy.

The attempts of the workingmen of Italy, under the influence of communist leaders, to take possession of factories in Milan, Turin, and other manufacturing cities had a remarkable result. A party called the *Fascisti* developed to oppose a violent overturn of the usual methods of business and manufacture. The Fascisti found a leader in Mussolini, who, with his supporters, became a sort of dictator in 1923. He got complete control of the Italian parliament and the confidence of the king. In the elections early in 1924 he secured votes enough to continue him and his party in power. He chose a ministry made up of capable men and straightened out the badly demoralized finances of the country. He and his followers were accused of suppressing liberty and downing the communists by violence. Nevertheless he did much to reëstablish conditions as they were before the demoralization of the war set in. As time went on Mussolini developed the

touchiness and arrogance of a dictator. Late in 1925 laws were passed making it a crime to criticize him. Italians living abroad who did so might be deprived of their property in Italy. All news was censored as ruthlessly by the Fascisti as by the Bolsheviki.

The British Labor Ministry

We have seen above how a socialistic labor party slowly developed in Great Britain. From 1895 to 1905 the Conservative (or Unionist) party controlled the ministry. From 1905 to 1915 the Liberal party was in power and succeeded in enacting some of the laws advocated by Lloyd George, in reducing the ancient influence of the House of Lords, and in admitting a considerable number of women to the franchise. Then the great responsibilities involved in carrying on the war led to a *coalition* between the Liberals and the Conservatives which lasted down to the armistice. A general election held in 1918 secured the coalition 467 seats, over two thirds of them going to the Conservatives. But Lloyd George, who remained prime minister, had done his work: the coalition fell apart; and the Labor party, although it had at that time only 63 members, raised its voice against the feeble policy of the government. Lloyd George's cabinet resigned and was replaced by a Conservative leader. Then the Conservatives decided to "go to the country" by having a new election in November, 1922, in which they came off very well. Owing to the creation of the parliament of the Irish Free State the number of members in the House of Commons had been reduced from 707 to 615. Of these seats the Conservatives won 344, well over half; the Liberals won only 114 seats; and the Labor party secured 142 members. Being second in numbers, the Labor party became for the first time the recognized "opposition" party in Parliament. A year later (December, 1923) the prime minister, Mr. Stanley Baldwin, determined again to have a general election, on the ground that some form of protection should be

introduced to remedy the depression in business and the consequent widespread unemployment. This challenge to free trade, the historic doctrine of the Liberal party, resulted in arousing the Liberals to array themselves along with the Labor party against the Conservatives, and swept the Labor party into office. The Conservatives were reduced to 258 seats; Labor rose to 191. Mr. Baldwin saw that he should not have the support of the House and recommended to the king that the opposition be asked to form a ministry.

As was said above, a campaign carried on by the trade-unions and the Independent Labor party (moderate socialists) resulted in securing fifty seats in Parliament in the election of 1906. Conditions after the war favored a rapid increase of the Labor party in Parliament; and finally, in January, 1924, Ramsay MacDonald, its most conspicuous leader, was invited by the king to form a cabinet.

In choosing his cabinet Mr. MacDonald did all he could to remove the fear of a radical break with the past. His appointment of such men as Lord Parmoor, Arthur Henderson, J. H. Clynes, Viscount Haldane, Philip Snowden, Sidney Webb, and Lord Olivier showed that the prime minister was eager to have able representatives of all classes who shared the conviction that the government should exist in the interest of the people as a whole. The Labor party had attached to its ranks not only socialists but many thoughtful persons who believed that the old Liberal party was not thoroughgoing enough in its methods to wage war on poverty and to meet the very serious problems which had arisen since the close of the World War.

Mr. MacDonald realized from the first that although his party was in *office*, it was not in *power*, since it was dependent on the support of the Liberals to maintain a majority vote. This in itself was a serious handicap in securing any independent legislation. The government had not only to please the various groups within the Labor party but to win the approval

of the Liberals as well. In spite of these difficulties the government was able to maintain itself in office about eight months.

It is universally conceded that its most notable achievement was in the fields of finance and of foreign affairs. Mr. Snowden, chancellor of the exchequer, presented a budget which was regarded as a masterpiece of sound finance and wise statesmanship. Mr. MacDonald, acting as his own foreign secretary, introduced a new note into European diplomacy. With great simplicity, tact, and candor he addressed himself to the serious task of restoring confidence between the exhausted nations of Europe. The problem of Russia received careful consideration, and the Soviet government was recognized. Better relations were established between France and Great Britain, and fresh hope was brought into international affairs by his successful handling of the Dawes plan.

Opposition to the government was aroused on the part of both the Liberals and the Conservatives in regard to a proposed Anglo-Russian treaty which included a loan to Russia, guaranteed by the British government. Realizing that the Liberals were unlikely to support him, Mr. MacDonald chose a less important issue as a test of his power—the so-called Campbell case. The editor of a communist weekly had been arrested for the publication of an article deemed seditious, but the attorney-general decided to withdraw the case. This action the Conservatives viewed as an interference with the course of justice and as due to pressure from the extreme element in the Labor party. Mr. MacDonald regarded a demand for an investigation into the matter as the equivalent of a vote of "lack of confidence" in his government, and recommended that the king dissolve Parliament. The issue of the campaign turned on the hazards of socialistic government versus "security," and the Conservatives received a huge majority of votes. Mr. Stanley Baldwin again was appointed premier. One of the most interesting features of this election was the virtual disappearance of the Liberal party. Many Liberals, coming

to the support of the Conservatives, deserted their own party, and the result was that the Liberals retained only forty seats.

A British publicist writes:

> The year [1924] that has just closed will be a landmark in the history of British politics. In its first months it witnessed the consummation to which the democratic movement had been advancing for centuries. Executive power, which had descended from king to barons, and from barons to knights of the shire, and so on, with the extension of the Parliamentary institution, to the landed aristocracy, to the professional classes, and to the middle classes, had at last passed to Labor—to the manual worker, the miner from the coal pit, the engine driver from the train, the carpenter from the bench, the laborer from the docks.

The developments and conflicts in Europe since the World War have produced a sharp distinction between two classes of socialists—the moderates and the extremists. The former are strong believers in democratic control but not in a violent abolition of present business methods. The British Labor ministry, and those who drew up the new republican constitution for Germany belong to this class. The extremists, on the other hand, whom we may conveniently call "communists" to distinguish them from the moderate socialists, idealize the Russian experiment and would imitate the example of the Bolsheviki by destroying the capitalistic system and substituting for it the dictatorship of the proletariat. They accept the prophesy of Karl Marx that only in this way will the class struggle be brought to an end.

EPILOGUE

Whether the mutual hostility of poor and rich will deepen and bring on new social conflicts, or whether there will be concessions on both sides resulting in gradual reform, the future alone can determine. It is clear in any case that the evils of our present organization are being more and more generally understood, and there is hope that many shocking inequalities may gradually be done away with.

There is great hope in the steadily increasing understanding of human beings and their relations, and in further scientific discoveries of overwhelming importance which seem now to be almost within the reach of mankind. The issue is, in short, not simply between Capital and Labor, for intelligence and new knowledge is constantly revolutionizing human conditions. Should the patient scientists, inventors, and engineers, who rarely take part in the hot strife between employers and workers and who are generally overlooked, should these neglected factors in the situation suddenly quit, both capitalists and laborers would find themselves lapsing back into a state of savage incompetence. As we bring this survey of human achievement to a close we may well ask:

Who can gauge the far-reaching influence of even the science we have, in ordering and quickening the imagination of men, in enhancing and assuring their powers? Common men feel secure in enterprises it needed men of genius to conceive in former times. And there is a literature—for all our faults we do write more widely, deeply, disinterestedly, more freely and frankly, than any set of writers ever did before—reaching incalculable masses of readers and embodying an amount of common consciousness and purpose beyond all precedent. Consider only how nowadays the problems that were once inaccessible thoughts of statesmen may be envisaged by common men!—H. G. Wells

SUGGESTIONS FOR READING

Some general advice in regard to historical reading was given at the close of Volume I. The following references are to fairly well-known works in English accessible in any good library. For detailed bibliographies see the *Cambridge Modern History* or the articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

CHAPTER XXI. THE DRAWING TOGETHER OF EASTERN AND WESTERN EUROPE

GIBBON, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (Bury's edition much to be preferred on account of its critical notes), Vols. IV–VIII, from Justinian's time onward to the fall of Constantinople. *Cambridge Mediæval History,* especially Vol. IV, "The Eastern Roman Empire (717–1453)," planned by J. B. Bury. Many topics excellently treated under their appropriate headings in the *Encyclopædia Britannica. Cambridge Modern History,* Vol. V, chaps. xvi–xvii, xix–xxi. RAMBAUD, *History of Russia,* Vols. I–II. BAIN, R. N., *The First Romanovs.* KLUCHEVSKY, *A History of Russia* (3 vols.). PHILLIPS, *Poland* (Home University Library). SCHEVILL, *The Making of Modern Germany,* Lectures I–II. SCHUYLER, *Peter the Great.* WALISZEWSKI, *Life of Peter the Great.* REYBURN, *The Story of the Russian Church.*

CHAPTER XXII. THE WARRING GOVERNMENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI. HASSALL, *The Balance of Power, 1715–1789,* a manual of the diplomacy and wars. CARLYLE, *History of Frederick the Second, called Frederick the Great.* BRIGHT, *Maria Theresa.* EVERSLEY, *The Partitions of Poland.*

CHAPTER XXIII. EUROPEAN EXPANSION OVERSEAS

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. V, chap. xxii; Vol. VI, chaps. vi, xv. CROSS, *A History of England and Greater Britain,* chap. xli. EGERTON *A Short History of British Colonial Policy.* GIBBINS, *British Commerce and Colonies from Elizabeth to Victoria.* ROBINSON, HOWARD, *The De-*

velopment of the British Empire. LYALL, *The Rise of British Dominion in India.* WOODWARD, *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire.* CHEYNEY, *The European Background of American History* (an excellent survey). EDGAR, *The Struggle for a Continent.* HUNTER, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples.* LUCAS, *A Historical Geography of the British Colonies* (5 vols.). MACAULAY, *Essay on Clive.* MAHAN, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History, 1660–1783.* MORRIS, *A History of Colonization* (2 vols.). PARKMAN, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (2 vols.). SEELEY, *The Expansion of England.* THWAITES, *The Colonies.* TRAILL, *Social England,* Vol. V.

CHAPTER XXIV. QUESTIONING OF AUTHORITY—HEAVENLY AND EARTHLY

BURY, *History of the Freedom of Thought* (Home University Library). LECKY, *Rise of Rationalism in Europe.* WHITE, A. D., *History of the Warfare of Science and Religion.* Article "Bacon" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* SEDGWICK and TYLER, *A Short History of Science. The Development of the Sciences,* by several writers (Yale University Press, 1923). Article "Academies," in *Encyclopædia Britannica.* LIBBY, W., *An Introduction to the History of Science.* LOWELL, J. R., *Among my Books,* long chapter on "Witchcraft." NOTESTEIN, *A History of Witchcraft in England.* MCGIFFERT, *Protestant Thought before Kant.* BENN, A. W., *History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century,* introductory chapters. LOCY, *Biology and its Makers.* ROBERTSON, J. M., *A Short History of Freethought,* Vol. II.

CHAPTER XXV. FURTHER QUESTIONING, ESPECIALLY IN HOLLAND AND FRANCE

For general histories of thought and science see preceding chapter.

BURY, *A History of Freedom of Thought* (Home University Library), chap. vi. *A History of the Idea of Progress,* by the same. *Cambridge Modern History,* Vol. V, chap. xxiii, Vol. VIII, chap. i. MARVIN, F. S., editor, *Science and Civilization.* MONTESQUIEU, *The Spirit of Laws* (Nugent's translation). ROUSSEAU, *Discourses* and *Émile* and *The Social Contract* (Everyman's Library). SMITH, ADAM, *The Wealth of Nations.* GIDE and RIST, *A History of Economic Doctrines* (translated by Richards). LECKY, *A History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe* (2 vols.). MORLEY, *Critical Miscellanies* and *Rousseau* and *Voltaire,* interesting essays.

ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings,* chaps. ix–x.

See under Chapter XXXVIII, below.

CHAPTER XXVI. MEDIEVAL SURVIVALS AND REFORMING DESPOTS

ASHTON, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne.* GIBBINS, *Industry in England,* chaps. xvii–xx. LOWELL, *The Eve of the French Revolution.* PROTHERO, *English Farming, Past and Present,* chaps. v–xi. SYDNEY, *England and the English in the Eighteenth Century* (2 vols.). CUNNINGHAM, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce, Modern Times,* Part I. DE TOCQUEVILLE, *The State of Society in France before the Revolution,* a careful analysis of conditions. LECKY, *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (8 vols.). TAINE, *The Ancient Régime.* ANTHONY, KATHARINE, *Catherine the Great.* CARLYLE, *History of Frederick the Second.*

CHAPTER XXVII. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, FIRST PHASE

For general conditions in France before the Revolution, see LOWELL, *The Eve of the French Revolution*; MACLEHOSE, *The Last Days of the French Monarchy*; DE TOCQUEVILLE, *State of Society in France before the Revolution of 1789,* a very remarkable work; TAINE, *The Ancient Régime,* containing excellent chapters on the life at the king's court and upon the literature of the period; YOUNG, ARTHUR, *Travels in France in 1787–1789,* very interesting and valuable. For Turgot's reforms, STEPHENS, *Life and Writings of Turgot,* containing translations from Turgot's writings. MONTESQUIEU, *The Spirit of Laws.* ROUSSEAU, *The Social Contract. Translations and Reprints,* Vol. VI, No. 1, gives short extracts from some of the most noted writers of the eighteenth century. In Vol.V, No. 2, of the same series, may be found a "Protest of the Cour des Aides," one of the higher courts of France, issued in 1775, which casts a great deal of light upon the evils of the old régime. JOHN MORLEY has written a number of sympathetic works upon France before the Revolution: *Voltaire, Rousseau* (2 vols.), *Diderot and the Encyclopædists* (2 vols.). ROCQUAIN, *The Revolutionary Spirit preceding the Revolution,* an account of books and pamphlets condemned by the authorities.

On the Revolution itself: *Cambridge Modern History,* Vol. VIII. ROBINSON, *The New History,* chap. vii. MATTHEWS, *The French Revolution.* ROSE, *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era,* chaps. i–iii. STEPHENS, H. MORSE, *A History of the French Revolution* (2 vols.). MADELIN, LOUIS, *The French Revolution,* perhaps the best account in one volume. AULARD, *The French Revolution: A Political History, 1789–1804* (4 vols.). BOURNE, *The Revolutionary Period in Europe.* CARLYLE, *The French Revolution,* a literary masterpiece but written from insufficient materials. TAINE, *The French Revolution* (3 vols.), brilliant but unsympathetic. MATTHEWS, *The French Revolution.*

ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings,* chaps. xii–xiii. ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France, 1789–1907,* a valuable collection for modern French history. BURKE, *Reflections on the French Revolution* (Everyman's Library), a bitter criticism of the whole movement. PAINE, *The Rights of Man,* an answer to Burke.

CHAPTER XXVIII. THE FIRST FRENCH REPUBLIC

See references for the preceding chapter, since most of the works there cited extend their account down through the Reign of Terror.

CHAPTER XXIX. RISE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

See references for succeeding chapter, since works on the Napoleonic period include an account of the earlier years of Bonaparte's career.

CHAPTER XXX. EUROPE DURING THE NAPOLEONIC PERIOD

Of the various accounts of Napoleon and his times the following are the best and most accessible in English: FOURNIER, *Napoleon the First.* ROSE, *Life of Napoleon I.* FISHER, *Napoleon* (Home University Library). *Cambridge Modern History*: Vol. VIII, chaps. xviii–xxv, and Vol. IX are devoted to the Napoleonic period. Also see FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe,* and TAINE, *Modern Régime,* opening chapter, for a remarkable analysis of Napoleon. SEELEY, *Life and Times of Stein.*

For selections from the sources see ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings in Modern European History.* ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Other Select Documents Illustrative of the History of France.*

CHAPTER XXXI. EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

FYFFE, *History of Modern Europe.* SEIGNOBOS, *Political History of Europe since 1914.* FUETER, *World History, 1815–1920.* HUME, *Modern Spain.* STILLMAN, *The Union of Italy.* ROBERTSON, W. S., *History of the Latin-American Nations. Cambridge Modern History,* Vol. X. ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings.* ANDERSON, *Constitutions and Select Documents.*

CHAPTER XXXII. THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY AND GERMANY: THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

In addition to the general accounts referred to at the close of the previous chapter the *Cambridge Modern History,* Vols. XI and XII, and the

following special treatments may be cited: Barry, *The Papacy and Modern Times* (Home University Library). Cesaresco, *Cavour and the Liberation of Italy*. Stillman, *The Union of Italy*. Bismarck, *Bismarck the Man and the Statesman*, an autobiography. Busch, *Bismarck, Some Secret Pages of his History*. Headlam, *Bismarck and the Foundation of the German Empire*. Schevill, *The Making of Modern Germany*. Barker, *Modern Germany*. Henderson, *A Short History of Germany* (1916 edition). Ogg, *The Governments of Europe*. Dawson, *The Evolution of Modern Germany*. Howard, *The German Empire*. Tower, *Germany To-day* (Home University Library). Bracq, *France under the Republic*. Coubertin, *The Evolution of France under the Third Republic*. Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*. Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*. Vizetelly, *Republican France*. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*.

CHAPTER XXXIII. GREAT BRITAIN AND HER EMPIRE

Allsopp, *An Introduction to English Industrial History*, Part IV. Cheyney, *An Introduction to Industrial and Social History in England*. Gibbins, *Industry in England*, chaps. xx–xxi. Slater, *The Making of Modern England*. Hobson, J. A., *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism*. Excellent chapters on Great Britain are to be found in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vols. XI and XII. Bagehot, *The English Constitution*. May, *English Constitutional History*. Article "Ireland" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Innes, *A History of England and the British Empire*, Vol. IV. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy*. Robinson, Howard, *The Development of the British Empire*. Mukerji, Dhan Gopal, *My Brother's Face*, an admirable account of India today. Robinson and Beard, *Readings in Modern European History*.

CHAPTER XXXIV. WORLD TRADE AND THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chaps. xv–xxii. Douglas, *Europe and the Far East*. Johnston, *The Opening up of Africa* (Home University Library). Harris, *Intervention and Colonization in Africa*. Reinsch, *World Politics*. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*. Giles, *The Civilization of China* (Home University Library); *China and the Chinese*. Knox, *Japanese Life in Town and Country*. Robinson and Beard, *Readings*.

CHAPTER XXXV. RUSSIA AND THE NEAR-EASTERN QUESTION

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. X, chap. xiii; Vol. XI, chap. xxi; Vol. XII, chap. xiii. SKRINE, *The Expansion of Russia*, the best brief survey. KENNAN, *Siberia and the Exile System* (2 vols.). KROPOTKIN, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*. ALEXINSKY, *Modern Russia*. KRAUSSE, *Russia in Asia*. MAVOR, *An Economic History of Russia* (2 vols.). RAMBAUD, *History of Russia*, Vol. III; *Expansion of Russia*. WALLACE, *Russia* (2 vols.). OLGIN, *The Soul of the Russian Revolution*.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XII, chap. xiv. SEIGNOBOS, *A Political History of Europe since 1814*, chaps. xx–xxi. GIBBONS, *The New Map of Europe*, very readable. HOLLAND, *The European Concert in the Eastern Question*. MARRIOTT, J. A. R., *The Eastern Question*. ABBOTT, *Turkey in Transition*. BUXTON, *Turkey in Revolution*. LANE-POOLE, *The Story of Turkey*. MILLER, *The Ottoman Empire* and *The Balkans*. BUCHAN, JOHN, editor (The Nations of Today), *The Baltic and Caucasian States*, and *Bulgaria* and *Rumania*. ROSE, *The Development of the European Nations* (2 vols.), Vol. I. MILLER, WILLIAM, *A History of the Greek People*, a short work. ROBINSON and BEARD, *Readings*.

CHAPTER XXXVI. THE WORLD WAR

For the conditions which led up to the World War see GOOCH, C. P., *History of Modern Europe*, and GIBBONS, *The New Map of Europe, 1911–1914: the Story of the Recent Diplomatic Crises and Wars and of Europe's Present Catastrophe*. BULLARD, *The Diplomacy of the Great War*, dealing in a sprightly manner with the negotiations preceding the conflict. SEYMOUR, *The Diplomatic Background of the War*, 1916. BEARD, C. A., *Cross Currents in Europe To-day*, chaps. i–iii, adds much new knowledge in short space. LOREBURN, *How the War Came*, a sober and thoughtful study made after the war closed. ROSE, *The Origins of the War*, from an English standpoint. VON MACH, *Germany's Point of View*, an attempt to justify Germany's policy in America's eyes. HAYES, C. H., *Brief History of the War*.

CHAPTER XXXVII. EUROPE SINCE THE WORLD WAR

GIBBONS, H. A., *Europe since 1918*. BEARD, C. A., *Cross Currents in Europe To-day*, admirable account of conditions. KEYNES, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*. TOYNBEE, *Survey of International Affairs, 1920–1923*. IRWIN, WILL, *The Next War, an Appeal to Common Sense*, an impressive picture of the devastating horrors of modern warfare.

The three supplementary volumes of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; also *These Eventful Years*, published by the same company. *The Treaties of Peace, 1919–1923* (2 vols.), published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, with maps. BUELL, R. L., *International Relations* (1925), good bibliographies. MOON, PARKER T., *Syllabus on International Relations* (1925), excellent guide. GRAHAM and BINKLEY, *New Governments of Central Europe* (1924), clear account of the various European constitutional changes since the war. MCBAIN and ROGERS, *The New Constitutions of Europe* (1923), translations into English of the chief contemporaneous constitutions. COAR, J. F., *The Old and the New Germany*. GOUCH, *Germany*, excellent, but relates mainly to Germany before and during the war. BUSTAMANTE, ANTONIO S. DE, *The World Court* (1925). HUDSON, MANLEY O., *The Permanent Court of International Justice and the Question of American Participation* (1925) (Harvard Press). The Carnegie Endowment in New York publishes a most valuable and inexpensive series called *International Conciliation*, containing in pamphlet form documents and reports. See No. 201, "A Practical Plan for Disarmament," by JAMES T. SHOTWELL—the so-called "American Plan." Also MOORE, JOHN BASSETT, "The Permanent Court of International Justice" (No. 197). *The League of Nations; A Survey, 1920–1925*, published by the Secretariat. Publications of the League can be obtained through the World Peace Foundation, Boston. DUTCHER, *Political Awakening of the East* (1925).

Current History, published monthly by the New York Times Company, gives many important documents, admirable maps, and pictures dealing with present-day affairs. *The Statesman's Yearbook* gives an annual picture of the world's affairs. The *Political Science Quarterly* supplement, published annually, furnishes a summary of events for the year. *The Historical Outlook* (formerly *History Teachers' Magazine*) (Philadelphia) publishes excellent bibliographies.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. NEW CONCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD WE LIVE IN

BYRN, *The Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century*. COCHRANE, *Modern Industrial Progress*. SLOSSON, *Creative Chemistry* and *Chats on Science*. CALDWELL and SLOSSON, *Science Remaking the World*. THOMPSON, *Age of Invention*. BOWMAN, *The New World*. THOMSON, J. A., *Everyday Biology*. CRESSY, *Discoveries and Inventions of the Twentieth Century*. RUSSELL, B., *The A B C of Atoms*. MILLS, JOHN, *Within the Atom*. BRAGG, SIR WILLIAM, *Concerning the Nature of Things*. LULL, R. S., *The Ways of Life*.

PUPIN, MICHAEL, *From Immigrant to Inventor.* DORSEY, *Why we Behave like Human Beings.* MARVIN, editor, *Progress and History* and *Recent Developments in European Thought.* SINGER, C., editor, *Studies in History and Methods of Science.* WHETHAM, *Science and the Human Mind.*

CHAPTER XXXIX. NEW VIEWS OF MAN'S NATURE AND TRADITIONS

HART, JOSEPH K., *The Discovery of Intelligence.* ROBINSON, JAMES HARVEY, *The Mind in the Making* and *The Humanizing of Knowledge.* BOAS, *The Mind of Primitive Man.* SUMNER, *Folkways.* GOLDENWEISER, *Early Civilization, an Introduction to Anthropology.* WISSLER, *Man and Culture. The Evolution of Man,* by various specialists (Yale University Press). DEWEY, JOHN, *Human Nature and Conduct* and *Reconstruction in Philosophy.* LAY, *Man's Unconscious Conflict.* TROTTER, *Instinct of the Herd.* WALLAS, *The Great Society.* OGBURN, W. F., *Social Change with respect to Culture and Original Nature.* MCGIFFERT, *The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas.*

CHAPTER XL. PLANS FOR BETTERING HUMAN RELATIONS

ALLSOPP, *An Introduction to English Industrial History,* Part IV. CHEYNEY, *An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England.* GIBBINS, *Industry in England,* chaps. xx–xxi. MARVIN, *The Living Past,* chaps. ix–x. POLLARD, *The History of England* (Home University Library), chap. vii. SLATER, *The Making of Modern England.* BYRN, *The Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century.* COCHRANE, *Modern Industrial Progress.* CUNNINGHAM, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce: Modern Times,* Part II. HOBSON, *The Evolution of Modern Capitalism,* excellent. TAWNEY, R. H., *The Acquisitive Society.* KIRKUP, *A History of Socialism.*

BLANSHARD, PAUL, *History of the Labor Movement.* Article "Socialism" in *Encyclopædia Britannica* and in supplementary volumes. GRAHAM and BINKLEY, *New Governments of Central Europe.* MCBAIN and ROGERS, *New Constitutions of Europe. British Trades Union Delegation to Russia and Caucasus: Russia Today* (1925). LIPPMANN, *Public Opinion* and *The Phantom Public.* FILENE, EDWARD, *The Way Out.* POUND, ARTHUR, *The Iron Man in Industry. Popular Ownership of Property: its Newer Forms and Social Consequences,* papers by various economists and business leaders, edited by RANSOM and MOON for Academy of Political Science, New York (1925). CHASE, STUART, *The Tragedy of Waste.* HOWE, FREDERIC C., *Confessions of a Reformer.*

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